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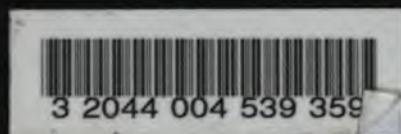
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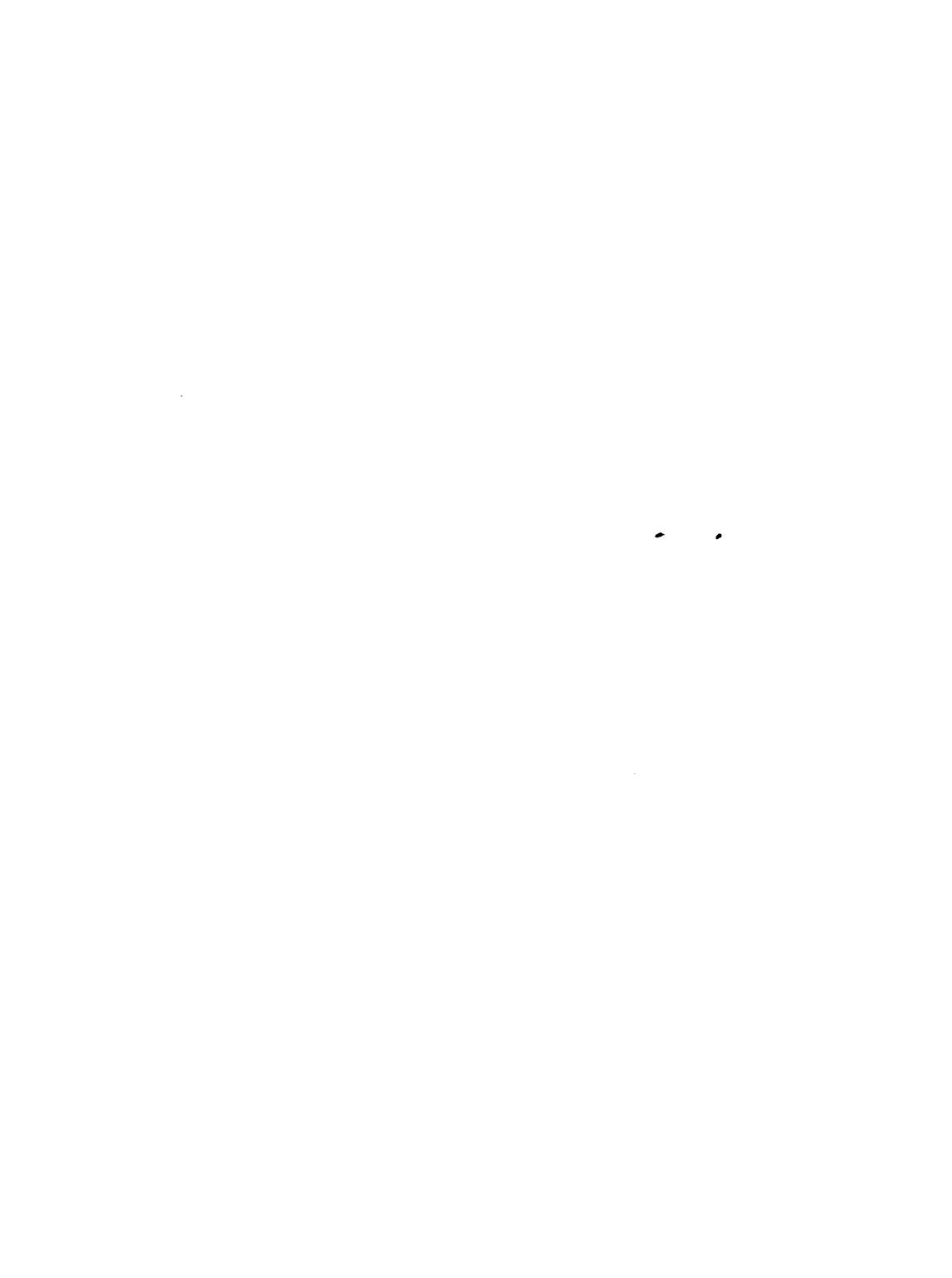
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JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS



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JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS

BY

THE HON. IICHIRO TOKUTOMI

Member of the House of Peers and
Editor in Chief of the *Kokumin Shimbun*

TRANSLATED BY

SUKESHIGE YANAGIWARA, B.S., M.A.

New York

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE chapters relating to Japanese-American Relations offered in this volume are taken from "*Taisen Go No Sekai to Nihon*" (*The World and Japan after the Great War*) by the Hon. Ichiro Tokutomi, the most eminent and influential contemporary writer of Japan.

The original book came out last October and within less than three months had reached its twelfth edition. This will give the reader an idea of its tremendous popularity in Japan. As to the favor which Mr. Tokutomi's books enjoy in Japan, Mr. J. Ingram Bryan appropriately remarked in *The Nation* of April 13th, 1921, that "A new book by Ichiro Tokutomi, member of the House of Peers, editor of the *Kokumin*, and Japan's foremost literary critic, is always an event."

I have translated this volume because I consider Mr. Tokutomi's views of special interest to

the American public. These chapters show the American-Japanese controversy from the Japanese angle. What the author says carries great weight in Japan and represents the opinion of a large majority of the Japanese people. Besides, it has been my earnest desire to contribute, within my humble limitations, to the promotion of mutual understanding and friendly relations between Japan and America.

In the course of my translation, I have endeavored to render faithfully in English the author's original ideas. But I am fully conscious of my inability to do justice to the eloquence and elegance of the original. If, however, I have succeeded in conveying in my translation the significance of his fundamental ideas, and if this little volume serves to some extent my purpose, I shall feel that I have been fully compensated for the time and effort devoted to this task.

SUKESHIGE YANAGIWARA.

New York, N. Y.

October, 1921.

PREFACE

IT gives me extreme pleasure to meet the American readers through Mr. Sukeshige Yanagisawa's translation of the chapters on Japanese-American Relations of my book, "*The World and Japan after the Great War*." This book being originally written for Japanese readers, I hope that the American readers will be indulgent in reading the translation.

It has long been my cherished hope to see the Japanese people understand and appreciate more fully the American people, and vice versa. With this end in view, I have endeavored to state the facts as facts throughout the entire book, very frankly and without the slightest restraint. I am glad to add that the circulation of the original book in Japan has so far reached 300,000 copies. Although the translation is small in volume, I hope it will be conducive to a better understanding

on the part of the American people of Japan's attitude towards America. If it does, I shall feel highly gratified.

IICHIRO TOKUTOMI.

Tokyo, Japan,
September, 1921.

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PART I

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN AMERICA
AND JAPAN

CHAPTER I

ARE WE PRO-AMERICAN OR ANTI-
AMERICAN?

CHAPTER I

ARE WE PRO-AMERICAN OR ANTI-AMERICAN?

WE do not like the unjust imputation of harboring anti-American sentiments. Japan must, particularly at this time, strive to make friends and avoid making enemies. It is only for this reason that, although we know well enough that the status of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has already been changed, we still consider it quite important and do not want to relinquish it of our own accord.

We know that the United States is now one of the most powerful nations of the world, if not the strongest, at least the richest. Realizing this fact, why should we Japanese seek to alienate the friendship of such a country? There is certainly no Japanese who, having a drop of patriotic blood in his veins, would desire to provoke the ill-feeling of Americans. Much less should we, without any cause, antagonize them, excite their animosity and intensify their anti-Japanese

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spirit, and thus plunge our country into complications with the United States. If there is such a Japanese, it would be none too severe an arraignment, we maintain, to brand him as a traitor to the Empire.

For the foregoing reasons we assert that we are not anti-American advocates, while on the other hand we are not so-called pro-Americans. The attention of our readers is invited to the word "so-called" used here to qualify the term "pro-American." We may observe what the so-called pro-Americans in Japan have done in the past, and are doing at present. But we will not go further and question the motives of their behavior or denounce them, for they, even such as they are, may be trying, from their point of view of patriotism, to do some good for Japan, and only for such purposes they may flatter Americans in a fashion at once unbecoming and debasing, as do servants in the presence of their masters. They accept anti-Japanese rebukes from Americans in nothing but the pro-American attitude, just like one who turns his right cheek after the left has been slapped. This attitude may be praiseworthy if judged by the ultra-standards of

so-called Christian morality; but we cannot help lamenting as we note that the far-reaching harm suffered by Japan on account of such attitude is greater than the harm caused by the anti-Americans.

The pro-Americans in Japan to-day, in brief, are dealing with this momentous question in a way similar to that of covering things of unpleasant odor with a lid. They try to conceal very unpleasant, unfavorable or unjust incidents which have arisen between the two countries, and if they cannot succeed in their efforts, they endeavor to hide as much of it as they can. By such excessive and unbecoming flattery they strive to maintain the amity between the two countries. What is the result of their conduct? They not only deepen the misunderstanding of Americans about Japan, but also encourage the anti-Japanese spirit in America, and eventually the friendly relations of the two peoples will, of necessity, be so strained that they can no longer be restored. Therefore we wish to impress upon you the fact that the harm done to Japan by our pro-Americans is greater than the harm done by our anti-Americans.

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The American is the "Enfant Terrible" of the world. Everywhere throughout the world he displays an indomitable spirit, like that of a strong self-willed youthful master of a rich estate. He has a notion that the world is revolving around his country as its center. He harbors the self-conceit that all the nations of the earth exist only for the benefit of the United States. He entertains the deep conviction that his country can do no wrong. In short, he disports himself all over the world in a manner called "Yankeeism."

Should some Americans accuse Japan of being the Prussia of the Far East, our pro-Americans will admit that and say she is, indeed, a militaristic country. When they blame Japan for her expansion on the Asiatic continent, our pro-Americans will assent and say that Japan's imperialistic policy is her curse. If they talk of the great and lasting services which America has rendered to Japan in opening her up to the Western world, our pro-Americans will acknowledge that too, saying that Perry was a great benefactor of Japan; that is why we erected him a monument. Should they boast of America as a land of justice and human-

ity, our pro-Americans will concur without reserve, saying that we pay profound reverence to Washington and Lincoln as the exemplary sages of modern times.

Thus, the Americans have been given comfort and self-satisfaction, and they are prone to think that Japan is now regretting her errors committed in the past, and is being Americanized gradually, and that, if America would bring to bear a little more pressure upon Japan, she would consider it an honor to play the part of the moon as satellite of America, the sun. It is not surprising at all to see Americans indulge in such hasty assertions, as it is a national trait.

America is not, however, without men of ability. The anti-Japanese sentiments of the anti-Japanese Americans not only will not be mitigated by the tender or flattering words of our pro-Americans, but they will, instead, be rather intensified and enhanced. The anti-Japanese Americans are of the opinion that the Japanese are a people never to be trusted. They claim the Japanese do not express naturally and frankly any feeling of joy or anger, pleasure or pain, hap-

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piness or sorrow; that they often assume an appearance which conceals their real sentiments. They laugh when they cry in their hearts; they rejoice when they mourn; they humble themselves when they are proud or scornful; they bow down obsequiously before Americans, as they expect to profit much in the future. That is how Japan defeated Russia, and unless America goes about it very carefully, she will eventually share the same fate. This is why America should never neglect her persistent and rigid vigilance over Japan.

Thus such Americans will interpret the words of our pro-Americans as having the opposite meaning; detesting and being apprehensive of the Japanese, they constantly aggravate the anti-Japanese sentiments. The other Americans, swallowing without reflection their words, gradually accentuate the tone of abomination of our people, although they may not harbor strong Japanese exclusion sentiments. These two kinds of Americans are working in co-operation, though unintentionally; they undermine the true amicable feelings of our two countries for each other, and their cordial relations; this foments trouble which may ultimately plunge the two friendly countries into

a conflict and bring immeasurable disaster. For this reason we have not joined blindly the ranks of the so-called pro-Americans of to-day, just as we have not become anti-Americans.



CHAPTER II
MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN
JAPAN AND AMERICA





CHAPTER II

MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN JAPAN AND AMERICA

WE are neither so-called pro-Americans, who try to suppress unpleasant things, as we would conceal disagreeable odors, nor are we anti-Americans, who want to repay the anti-Japanese attitude of Americans with the anti-American attitude on our part. Just as we would call a spade a spade or whatever a thing happened to be by its proper name, so after surveying the existing relations between Japan and America we shall state them as they really are, without any prejudice.

People talk about misunderstandings between Japan and America. Of course we know that there is unfortunately some misunderstanding between the two countries. But the misunderstandings existing in Japan about America differ in character from those in America about Japan.

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Americans look at Japan through dark colored glasses, whereas the Japanese look at America in a far better light than facts would warrant. The American view is that Japan is a land of militarism, where the military clique has the upper hand; that she is an enemy of the principles of freedom and not a friend of humanity. "Look what Japan has done in China, or with Korea, or, for a recent instance, turn your eyes to Siberia and see what she is doing there," they say. And again, "She is truly the Germany of the Orient. Her aggrandizement is a menace to the democratic principles of the world. It is, therefore, necessary for the cause of Democracy to bring Japan to her senses."

These are not all fantastic suppositions on our part. Generally speaking, seven or eight out of every ten Americans entertain such views—not only Americans of a particular class, whose principal business is to keep up anti-Japanese agitation, but also a great many Americans who, otherwise, have no interest in, or concern about, Japan.

But who is to blame if Americans have such misunderstandings about us? This responsibility

rests upon both,—America and Japan. On our side, we may divide those responsible in three groups: First—The so-called pro-American Japanese, who always assents to anything or everything Americans say or do. Second—Those anti-Japanese Japanese, who do not understand even their own country where they were born and reared, who look upon their own country with the eyes of a foreigner, and who take and interpret anything Japanese always from its worst aspect, and always magnify or exaggerate in their public or private utterances any fault or wrong of their own country. Third—The so-called politicians behind the scene and the military men in “the green room,” who are active and bold only when they are not before the eyes of the public, and who furnish those anti-Japanese and anti-American propagandists of both countries with information or material of which they take advantage.

Are the Americans to blame for their misunderstanding of Japan? Or is it our own fault that we allowed them to misunderstand us? However that may be, let the question stand for a moment. It appears to us that a great many

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Americans, perhaps even a majority, regard Japan as an armed monster.

On the other hand, the people in Japan look upon America as a country still imbued with the spirit of Washington and Lincoln. Our people have been traditionally overestimating America. In our intercourse with America, our people thought, at first, that she was a country to be feared; later, a country to be loved, and finally a country to be revered. Since Commodore Perry knocked at the gates of Japan, nearly seventy years have passed. But the greater part of our people do not yet understand the real purpose which prompted Perry to take his fleet to our shores and dispelled the dream of a long night of our people. They conceived America as a country much better than she really was, and such conception of our people has traditionally been continued down to the present day. Even to-day, when they are unable to comprehend the attitude of Americans towards Japan, they generally interpret it in its good aspect, and defend America, saying that it is simply the work of anti-Japanese Americans, who are only a very small minority.

in America. Thus, they are self-satisfied and can never understand the true state of the Japanese-American relations. Nay, indeed, they do not even wish to understand, nor, it seems, do they even venture to do so.

In short, America's great advantage over Japan is not her powerful navy, not her immense wealth, nor her inexhaustible resources from which she is capable of supplying us with raw materials, nor her unlimited purchasing power with which she faces us. We have to ascribe this to our good will and friendly sentiments toward America, which have, in fact, naturally and historically been overflowing in the hearts of our people in general. To judge by the natural tendency of the sentiments of our people it is no exaggeration at all to say that the Japanese are inherently pro-Americans—without the qualifying term "so-called."

Thus America takes Japan for far worse than she really is, and Japan estimates America to be far better than she actually is. Both are in identical position as regards the misunderstandings. Their natures are, however, in direct opposition

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to each other. Still, these misunderstandings cannot fail to prove injurious to both countries and detrimental to their friendly intercourse.

As for the Japanese, the prime prerequisite in formulating our policy towards America must be to know what kind of a country America is to-day. It is essential that we should endeavor to prevent America from misunderstanding us. But above and far more important than that, we must seek to understand America and understand her thoroughly. One of the greatest concerns of our country to-day is that our people are too indifferent to probe into the real character of this great neighboring country of ours.

CHAPTER III
AMERICA—HER CHARACTERISTIC
ATTITUDE (1)

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CHAPTER III

AMERICA—HER CHARACTERISTIC ATTITUDE (1)

TOWARDS the end of the Spanish-American War, Professor Norton, a venerable American scholar (whom Carlyle called an unexcelled American gentleman, and whom the author had the pleasure of meeting), wrote to the author, deplored the American Imperialistic tendency, and the departure from the principles of liberty upon which the very foundation of the country had been laid. Probably the United States had then begun to extend her power and influence abroad, with a tremendous force, like an impetuous body of water rushing down into a deep valley from the steep side of a high mountain.

The Spanish-American War made the United States one of the greatest imperialistic powers of the world, if not the greatest. Until then the United States lay dormant in the great continent of North America, like a coiling dragon, or a

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crouching tiger, but she was awakened by that war, and since then she has become one of the foremost of imperialistic nations. As a result of the War, the United States forced Spain to cede the territories of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands; also, seizing this favorable opportunity, she absorbed the Hawaiian Islands. True, Cuba has subsequently become an independent republic under the protectorate of the United States, and yet it may, in fact, be considered as nothing less than a part of the United States.

If the United States have, however, politically adopted a policy of imperialism, they should not be blamed for it. Expansion and development are the fundamental laws of life; and when a vital power overflows, it is natural for it to seek an outlet. Of course the activities of human races, in general, cannot be governed by a prescribed uniform rule. Some of the races were crowded out of their places on account of the pressure brought to bear upon them by other races, and are still moving on without any other course to take, just like the rush of sardines to the shore when chased by whales. Some of them

migrate from necessity in order to escape starvation due to famine and cold, as will a herd of deer, or wild hogs, which invade a village in search of food when mountains and valleys are buried deep under the snow and ice. But the imperialistic policy pursued by the United States is different from these examples. She made and is making overseas expansions without being forced either by external pressure, or by the necessity of her existence. The reason of this course is that the superabundance of her energies and resources impels her to it. This being so, she should not be blamed, for such is the natural tendency of any living being.

Thus we have seen that the United States has pursued an imperialistic policy, not because it was necessary for her self-preservation, nor for her existence, but because it was essential to find an outlet for her, or, to be more exact, to satisfy her instinct. The imperialistic policy of the United States is analogous, we believe, to the building of a villa by a rich man; it is, of course, not necessary for his protection from rain or snow, cold or heat, but as he has a superabundance of

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money, he builds it on a wonderful large estate acquired for that purpose, merely for the sake of spending his money.

A retrospective glance over the history of the United States will show that the course of her expansion has been from East to West. The fore-fathers of the country, the Puritan Pilgrims, came from England and settled in a region now known as New England, on the Atlantic Coast. With the advance of time, their posterity gradually moved westward and reached California. From there they proceeded, over the sea, to Hawaii; and going further they knocked at the gates of Japan, thus breaking her centuries' long slumber. Then they made their way to China, where they established close relations, and continuing their course further, finally reached the Philippines. There they became masters of the Islands. Now it seems that they are attempting to make the Pacific their pond and the Orient their outpost.

It may be an overestimation to view this course as a predetermined policy originating in the profound deliberations of American statesmen. We think it is nearer the truth to regard it as being prompted by instinct; the United

States made this westward progress, in the same way as the snakes crawl out of their winter abodes and go to the bushy swamps on warm spring days.

If this be so, have the United States, as a Nation, changed their original character? In other words, was America, prior to the Spanish-American War, a country of justice and humanity, and did she thereafter become an aggressive country? We know that the character of the United States has constantly been undergoing changes in regard to its relations to the external world, and we realize that, at the time of the Spanish-American War, America made a very abrupt change at one stroke. We further know that, as the United States of the past was not an angelic state, the United States of the present is not a diabolical state. In our opinion, she has only been passing through transitional stages, from the very time of her foundation down to the present, in the same way as all other states.

We note that by reason of her distant position from European countries and the absence of a powerful nation in her proximity, it has been possible for the United States to have fewer

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occasions to resort to arms against other countries. But for this reason alone, we should not conclude hastily that she is a peaceful nation. For a man cannot start a quarrel without a second party, however he may love a quarrel, just as a man cannot drink wine without having it, no matter how fond of wine he may be.

That the United States had not many great wars was not because her people hated wars, but because they have had only very little chances for them. Nevertheless, if we examine her history, we will readily find the following war-records since the war of her independence:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>
British-American War	July, 1812-Mar., 1815	2 yrs. & 8 mos.
First Florida War	Nov., 1817-May, 1818	6 mos.
Black Hawk War	March, 1832-Aug., 1832	5 mos.
Second Florida War	Dec., 1835-Aug., 1842	6 yrs. & 8 mos.
Mexican War	Jan., 1846-Feb., 1848	2 yrs. & 1 mo.
Civil War	Feb., 1861-May, 1865	4 yrs. & 3 mos.
Spanish-American War	April, 1898-July, 1898	3 mos.
Philippine War	Feb., 1899-Aug., 1901	3 yrs. & 1 mo.
Boxer War	June, 1900-Aug., 1900	2 mos.
Invasion of Mexico	March, 1916-Feb., 1917	1 yr.
European War	April, 1917-Nov., 1918 (See <i>The Taiyo</i> , issue of July, 1920)	1 yr. & 7 mos.

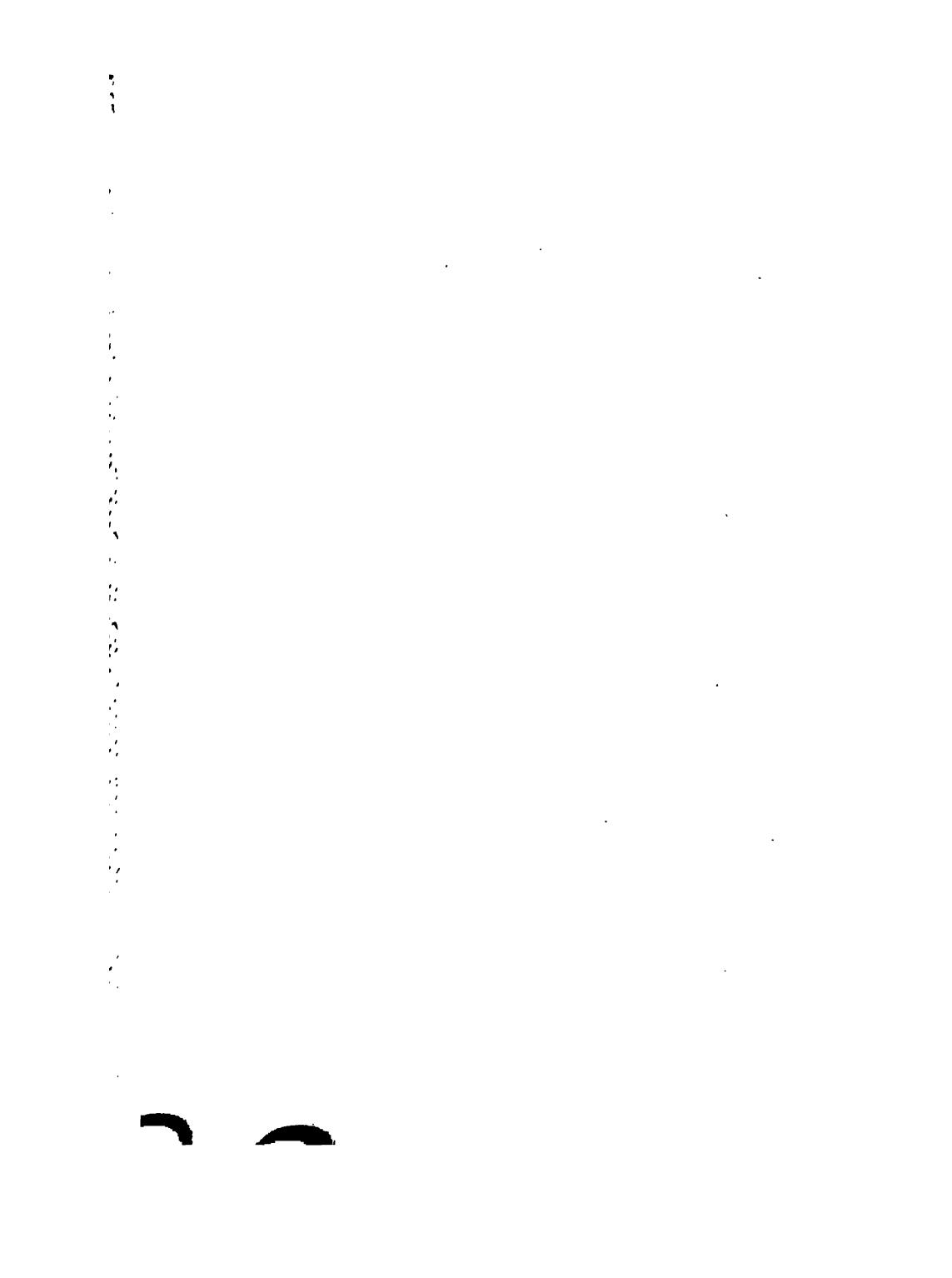
As it is seen from the foregoing, the United States fought wars eleven times within a period

of one hundred and ten years, at the rate of one war every ten years, consuming twenty years and eight months, making more than one-fifth of a century. Still, we do not wish to conclude too harshly that the United States was originally a warlike nation, and that her people were lovers of war. But if there are Americans who boast that they are the only peace-abiding and liberty-loving nation in the world, we must advise them to search in their own history as to whether they are right or wrong in their assertion.



CHAPTER IV

**AMERICA—HER CHARACTERISTIC
ATTITUDE (2)**



CHAPTER IV

AMERICA—HER CHARACTERISTIC ATTITUDE (2)



WE have read a copy of the lectures on "Americans as the Ardent Lovers of Peace," delivered at the City of Osaka and at the Tokyo Imperial University, by President Schurman of Cornell University, a distinguished American gentleman and a member of the Vanderlip Party who visited Japan on a special mission from America during April and May of this year (1920).

He explained that the American people were not militaristic, but an ardent, peace-loving nation, and that her wars were fought only for the cause of liberty and humanity. For confirmation of this statement he cited, as illustrations, the war of her Independence, the Civil, and the Spanish-American wars. If the lectures were American propaganda made in her interest, we have nothing to say. But should they be taken as lectures to explain the historical facts of his country from

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a scholarly standpoint, no one in Japan, not even an ordinary high-school boy, would be deceived by such preposterous assertions as these.

We do not say that Americans are a more war-like people than the people of any other country. On the other hand, we cannot find any evidence that they are braver defenders of liberty and humanity, nor that they are more fervent peace-lovers than any other people. Can the war of Independence, the Civil, and the Spanish-American Wars, as quoted by President Schurman, be said to be purely and simply righteous wars, fought for the cause of justice and humanity, or not? Should we examine, in detail, the causes that brought wars, with a view of establishing historical truth, we would necessarily arrive at the conclusion that the interests of the American people constituted their fundamental, or at least very strong motives. In tracing the causes of these wars, we are certain that it would be more accurate and correct to ascribe them to economic conflicts, disrupted feelings, and national aspirations, than to the principles of liberty and humanity, as expressed by the commonplace phraseology. As to the cause of the Spanish-

American War, the whole world knows very well the facts and circumstances; after instigating the rebellion in Cuba by her intrigues and using the mysterious explosion of the battleship *Maine* as an excuse, America resorted to arms.

But let us now for a moment allow her the benefit of President Schurman's assertion to its fullest extent and assume that it was a war of equity, why then did she extort from Spain such a huge booty as she did? Is not this analogous to what we call robbing of another's cow as she is driven over the bounds of his fields? Having made Spain to cede the Philippines, the United States still profess that they are opposed to the retention of the Islands. This is the same as a tippler who allows his waitress to fill his cup to the brim, while his mouth declines to accept it, but in the meantime he holds it in his hand. Is it not just what we call "Closing one's ears while stealing a bell?" We cannot help fearing that the instances quoted by President Schurman, contrary to his intention, rather proved the Americans to be a war-like people.

And why did President Schurman ignore the war of 1812-1815 with England? Was it really

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a war for righteousness and liberty? And why did he ignore the wars with Mexico since 1845? In 1835 America forcibly took Texas from Mexico; moreover, crossing the border, she invaded Mexico with aggressive intentions. In consequence of this, the Mexican people were forced to protest. In 1845, America made formal declaration of war against Mexico; in 1848, as a result of this war, did she not coerce Mexico to cede California, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico? Indeed, even the State of California, from which the United States seem likely to expel the present Japanese immigrant settlers, is the very territory which she appropriated by force from Mexico. Can we say then that those wars were fought for liberty and humanity?

We need not particularly lecture President Schurman on American history, but we may recommend that he read a book entitled "A Straight Deal, or The Ancient Grudge," recently published by his compatriot, Owen Wister. In this book the author says that, although some Americans denounce the history of England as the plain story of her continuous land-grabbings, they

themselves have forgotten all about their Mexican war of 1846-1847.

Again, referring to General Grant's characterization of the war with Mexico as "iniquitous," Wister says that "I gradually learned the truth about the Mexican War, which had not been taught me as a boy—in that war, we bullied a weaker power, that we made her our victim, that the whole discreditable business had the extension of slavery at the bottom of it." He, further, declares that the records as to "the treatment of the Indians by Americans was the blackest page in the history of America." With reference to the grabbing of Florida from Spain, he adds that the pittance that America paid Spain in one of the Florida transactions never went to her pocket.

The foregoing abstracts are only fragments quoted from Wister's recent book. But President Schurman would learn a great deal if he would turn his thought once to the above facts and reflect gravely upon his own lectures on American history delivered before our people.

It will be observed that the history of America, as based on facts, and as judged by General

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Grant, as a soldier, and by Lowell, as a literary man, is not so simply the undefiled record of a peace-loving nation as Schurman asserted in his lectures.

Furthermore, can we not judge from the attitude of America towards the nations of Central America how heartless she has been in sacrificing the small and weak countries for the sake of her great imperialistic ambition? We need not further dwell upon this; let us simply remember the particulars of the ingenious scheme by which she came into possession of the Panama Canal. As the territory of Panama was a part of the Republic of Colombia, the United States first made Panama an independent State, detaching her from the Colombian Republic, and as compensation for the recognition of her independence, she, then, obtained from Panama the permanent lease of the Canal Zone, a territory over forty miles in length and ten miles in width. Notwithstanding her previous agreement with England to make the Canal an international highway, the same as the Suez Canal, she is planning to use it exclusively for her own strategic purposes, ignoring that agreement. Can this action justly be

called the conduct of an ardent peace-loving people?

Again, if the United States were by nature a peace-loving nation, why did Perry come to Japan prepared for fighting, and why did he bring the picture of the Mexican-American War especially selected as a gift to the Shogunate, the then government of Japan, thereby threatening the people of our country? Incidents like this may be found almost on every page throughout the entire history of the United States.

We cannot refrain from feeling disappointed at the conventional exposition of American history by President Schurman. But let Americans speak freely about the things American, and, as for ourselves, Japanese, there is no necessity of knowing America through the words of Americans, just as there is no need of seeing them through spectacles borrowed from Americans. We do not have to lament with Professor Norton over the degeneration of Americans; neither do we, on the other hand, join President Schurman in the chorus of praising them. We simply want to view America as America—namely, neither an angelic State, nor a devilish one. She is an or-

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dinary State such as can commonly be found everywhere in the world, from the ancient down to the modern times. Her inherent character is not necessarily that of a strong, peace-loving nation. Judging from historic facts, we can see that she is rather a country of the opposite character.

CHAPTER V

**RETROSPECTION OF THE HISTORICAL
RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN
AND AMERICA (1)**

CHAPTER V

RETROSPECTION OF THE HISTORICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND AMERICA (1)

BEFORE taking up the present day relations between Japan and America, we deem it advisable to point out the causes that created the relations between the two countries as they now stand, and in doing so, what preponderates in our mind is the measure of friendship between them, because the friendship of America has sometimes merited our good will, and often deserved our gratitude.

The historical facts plainly reveal that the object of Admiral Perry's visit was to force us by arms to open our ports. There is no need of saying that it was for the expansion and development of America in the Pacific and not for the benefit of Japan. Had we not acceded to this project, he would not have hesitated at all to open hostilities against us and to occupy some of our ports or islands.

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That no conflict eventuated between the two peoples was, of course, due to our diplomatic obeisance rather than to the magnanimity of the Americans. (See my "The Young Men of the Taisho Era and the Future of the Empire"—Caption 11, "Complete Humiliation," and Caption 12, "Perry's Mission".) But we cannot tell that some one else in Perry's place might have dealt with us more severely and rudely. As to Townsend Harris, the concluder of the Ansei Treaty (The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation), the people of our country should remember that we have some reasons to be grateful to him. In regard to the working out of the Treaty, we realize that although our Ministers Plenipotentiary—Chushin Iwase and Prince Inouye of Shinano—took a considerable part in negotiations, Harris also contributed largely to bring the Treaty to a successful conclusion. Naturally, he worked first in the interest of America and only secondarily in the interest of Japan, but he did not exploit the situation to the detriment of Japan and in favor of America.

Ever since the conclusion of the Treaty, America has generally assumed the attitude of a

mediator between Japan and other foreign countries. In case like the bombardment of Bakwan, America participated merely to be "like the rest," as it is said, and, of course, was not the chief plotter or the ringleader. Can we not infer what the object of America was from the fact that in 1883 she returned to Japan the Shimonoseki indemnity of \$785,000?

At the end of the Tokugawa régime, the Ministers of England and France were actively engaged in the struggle between the Feudal Government and the powerful clans of Satsuma and Choshu, each Minister in the interest of his own country, and scheming to extend the influence of his own Government. The American Minister had little influence compared with the others, but he did not act with duplicity and did not try to take advantage of the weakness of others. America's policy at that time may have been not to meddle with the political affairs of other countries further than to maintain her commercial relations. Be that as it may, the American Minister took no active part in annoying us; he did not take advantage of our internal troubles, and we must admit that America maintained toward us

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an attitude of considerably passive friendship, though she bestowed upon us no positive benefit.

After the Restoration, the chief influence of the diplomatic body in Japan was that of Minister Parks of England. It was a well-known fact that he, making use of the influence and prestige of his country, looked down upon us, and was the one most feared by our Government. While men like Ministers De Long and Bingham, following the traditional policy of their country, generally maintained a pacificatory and mediatory attitude. America in those days was but a planet among the society of the nations of the world, and her power was not equal to that of the British Minister. Presumably there might have been some unavoidable causes for America not being powerful enough to restrain the insolence of the British Minister, and we should not impute it as a fault if the influence of the American representatives was insignificant.

It is needless to mention that in matters of education in Japan during the early stage of the Meiji—the Restoration—we owe a great deal to the various foreign countries. England, America, France, Germany—each of these countries may

have her claims. But as to the general—not special lines of education—we must plainly admit that America's share in the contributions was the greatest. For instance, from what quarter of the world did men like Arinori Mori, a man of new knowledge in Government, introduce such knowledge in Japan? Where did men of Western education and progressive ideas like Yukichi Fukuzawa acquire their education and ideas? Where did Volbeck, who introduced encyclopedic knowledge in Japan, come from? And of what nationality was Dr. Hepburn, who was known more prominently as the compiler of "Hepburn's Dictionary" than as the teacher of Occidental Science of Medicine? Those just mentioned are only a part of America's contribution, and yet it is much in itself. Without questioning whether the result of such contribution was good or bad, considering the source of our general education, it is an undeniable fact that most of it has come from America.



CHAPTER VI

**RETROSPECTION OF THE HISTORICAL
RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN
AND AMERICA (2)**



CHAPTER VI

RETROSPECTION OF THE HISTORICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND AMERICA (2)

TO-DAY there is hardly one among the thousands of visitors to the Uyeno Park in Tokyo who takes notice of the growth of trees planted by General Grant near the "Torii" (or stone gate) of "Toshogu" (the shrine erected for Iyeyasu Tokugawa). Indeed, there may be many who do not even know about their existence. In 1879, when he visited Japan, all the people, from the highest to the lowest, welcomed him as our national guest. At the audience with Emperor Meiji, he explained to him at considerable length the conduct of affairs of State, both external and internal, and submitted to him his personal views about them. Deeply concerned in his heart about Japan, he also counseled and warned our officials and people that they should not let Japan follow the same course that led to Egypt's failure. He

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tried to mediate in the controversy between Japan and China regarding Riukiu Island; no matter what the result, we should not forget his good will towards us.

Up to that time the Far Eastern policy of England had China as its main objective. Until the middle stage of the war of 1894-1895, the people of England still regarded China as a great, and Japan as a small country in the Orient. And their sympathy did not incline towards what they called "shrewd and frivolous Japan," but towards ancient and faithful China. America, however, was different. Her people looked upon the Japanese as their beloved pupils. Although not so completely unselfish as to practice the doctrine of own expense, yet they were not so greedy as to love and make Japan profit by it, even at their gain themselves by exploiting Japan. As we recollect these things, even at this distant date, it is impossible for us to restrain our profound gratification.

And with reference to the revision of the treaty of Count Terajima, the first country that recognized our independent right of levying customs duties was America; such recognition was granted

us under the treaty which Kiyonari Yoshida and William Maxwell Evarts signed at Washington on the 25th day of July, 1878. However, as this treaty contained a provision that it would not take effect until the revision of the existing treaties made with each of the other Treaty-Powers, it remained, in reality, nothing more than a dead letter. At any rate, it could not be denied that the Americans, at least, sympathized with us in having our right to levy customs duties restored. And it was House, an American, who, indignant at the insolence of Parks, on behalf of Japan founded the *Tokyo Times*, explaining and advocating the Japanese standpoint. Even though he were a journalist in the Government's pay, he could not have done as he did, had he not had ardent faith in and for the cause he was championing. Later, in 1900, at the time of the Boxer uprising, when the troops of the Powers met in the plain of Northern China, the relations between those of Japan and of America became very friendly. This both surprised and delighted the spectators who witnessed it. And when the relations between Japan and Russia grew strained over the Peninsula of Korea, America generally

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took a neutral stand and showed that her sympathy inclined towards Japan.

Thus, if we review briefly our historical relations, from the "Kayei" and "Ansei" eras (1848-1859) down to the war of the 37th-38th year of "Meiji" (1904-1905), we find that, except for a little friction, there existed between Japan and America, from the beginning of their intercourse, a warmer and closer friendship than between Japan and any other nation. It would be no exaggeration to call these two peoples good brothers separated by the Pacific. We must not forget that during the early stage of the Russo-Japanese war, American sympathies were on our side.

But since the battle of Mukden, or that of the Japan Sea, or in other words, when Japan's victory was no further in doubt, how American public opinion changed its tone! This is a fact, and though we are reluctant to state it, it cannot be passed without comment.

However that may be, the man who specially deserved our gratitude in initiating and forcing to a successful conclusion the Peace Negotiation between Japan and Russia was Roosevelt.

How by every available means he persuaded, encouraged, besought, demanded, warned, and even threatened the Emperor of Russia, whose will was so weak and opinion so uncertain and changeable, as to be entirely undependable, and made him consent to the Peace terms, we know from the recently published collection of his letters. He even warned the Emperor that if he did not accept the Peace terms promptly, Japan would advance and take the maritime provinces and that civil revolution would break out in Russia. And when he saw the difficult position of Japan in relation to the Portsmouth Treaty, he urged Japan to make a decision, cautioning her that if she continued the war any further, she would be despised by all the world for fighting to extort an indemnity, and that America would not subscribe to the Japanese bonds—not even a cent. Without inquiring further as to what his ultimate motive was, his zeal eventually put an end to the Russo-Japanese War. It was, of course, only proper that our Emperor Meiji graciously tendered courteous thanks to Roosevelt for his great services.



PART II
**FACTS ABOUT ANTI-JAPANESE SENTI-
MENT IN AMERICA**

CHAPTER VII
**SENTIMENT WAVERING LIKE
BILLOWS**



CHAPTER VII

SENTIMENT WAVERING LIKE BILLOWS

WHY did our victory of Mukden and that of the Japan Sea become a turning point in American sentiment towards Japan? If America were a country with a true sentiment of genuine friendship towards Japan, her people should have been only too glad of the victories of Japan, and there should have been no reason at all for lessening their sympathy, nor for arousing their antipathy. However, this was nothing but a spontaneous expression of the mysteries of human feelings, both in the individuals and in the nation. To be plain, public opinion in America began manifesting jealousy towards Japan and looking upon her with apprehension and disfavor. We do not wonder in the least at this change. But rather we are astonished at the apathy of our people, taking no notice of this turning point, believing persistently and firmly America to be everlastingly the

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America of past days, regardless of apparent changes.

We should not overlook the striking differences which exist between the policy of England and that of America towards Japan. In the war of 1894-1896, when England ascertained by actual observation that China was extremely weak and Japan brave and strong, she substituted Japan for China in her cardinal Oriental policy, in which up to that time China had been the first and foremost country. Later, in 1900, the Boxer trouble convinced England more than ever that Japan was a worthy country to rely upon. Hardly a year after that, in February 1902, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was made public. On the other hand, so long as Japan remained insignificant, cowering in a corner of the Orient, America spared no effort in her assistance and was lavish with her friendship towards us. But when Japan was about to be recognized by the world as a quite strong nation, somehow she changed her attitude and behaved like a giant towards us; somehow she acted as if we were harboring a sinister design.

England and America have changed

their attitude towards Japan, simultaneously with the change of Japan's position in her international relations. This change of their attitude in opposite directions should have been for us a matter of no little surprise. However, as a matter of fact, we were not surprised. England's befriending Japan was to make use of Japan for the promotion of her Oriental policy. America's becoming estranged from Japan was because she saw in Japan a barrier to her Oriental policy.

There is no reason for us to be particularly grateful to England; at the same time neither have we any cause for being specially resentful towards America. Men act for the interest of their own countries. So, also, keeping the interest of our own country before our eyes, we should simply follow the sane course. There is nothing more dangerous and detrimental to those interests than to give way recklessly to our feelings, especially when our international relations are involved.

The year 1898 was a turning point in America's world policy. In that year she fought with Spain; in short order she seized the Philippines, and gained a foothold in the Far East.

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In the same year she annexed Hawaii and became a great Power in the Pacific.

As regards the annexation of Hawaii, Japan made a protest to America on the ground that her interests were vitally involved, because of her close relations with the Islands, not only on account of the great number of emigrants of her nationals there, but also on account of the Pacific itself and of the geographical propinquity of Hawaii. Furthermore, Japan was apprehensive that, should America once annex Hawaii, the other Powers, following America's example, would also begin to grab the archipelagoes of the Pacific.

But the Government of Japan at that time was busy with her internal troubles, and we had to keep silent after our futile protest. To tell the truth, regarding the annexation of the Philippines, it looked to us very much as if Japan had been fooled by America.

To quote the substance of a report submitted in 1898 by Toru Hoshi, the Minister of Japan in America, to Prince Okuma, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Prime Minister of Japan:

America never entertained the slightest territorial design in the Orient. We can infer this, because the Spanish-American war was to make Cuba completely independent, which in turn was to furnish protection for the American sugar industry in that Island, where, it is presumed, many Americans had investments; and, therefore, it was only natural for Americans to desire her independence. If only the independence of the Island were secured, America would not desire much more. As for the terms of peace, America laid an emphasis on the independence of Cuba, and by taking Porto Rico she was only trying to provide a naval base for her warships. No other cession of territory, nor payment of indemnity was demanded. It was pledged by America that she would endeavor to the utmost not to impair the interests of Japan in the Orient. Upon this condition, I was first asked to give my view concerning the Philippine questions, and therefore I answered that I had no particular objection.

But four months later, America had the entire Philippine archipelago definitely ceded to her by the Spanish-American Treaty, concluded in Paris. And America became securely intrenched as a great Power in the Far East. Thus she made her so-called Monroe Doctrine not only a bar to any interference by the Powers in both continents of America, but on the contrary, she set up a stepping-stone in the Pacific, launched out into the Far East and began to exercise her power.



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ful influence as a great political and economical factor in that part of the world, while we looked upon it unconcerned, in a perfunctory and pliant manner, as we would have looked at a fire on the other side of a river which did not threaten us.

Speaking generally, England, in the Orient, aimed to protect her rights and interests already acquired, and this is her reason for making Japan her watch-dog. On the other hand, America, in the Far East, intended to acquire rights and interests, and for this reason she was looking upon Japan as her rival. Moreover, Japanese immigrants from Hawaii were entering California, and unless this was checked they would flow in like a rushing tide.

Americans regard Japan as being an obstacle in their way. From their viewpoint, this is by no means unreasonable. Should we say that that is only jealousy on their part? Or, should we say that it is only on account of friction of feelings between the two peoples? Or, should we say that it is only owing to misunderstandings between us? It is, we declare, only an inevitable consequence brought about by the two Powers coming in contact with each other.

CHAPTER VIII

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM IN

CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER VIII

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA

HAVING discoursed on the history of the diplomatic relations between Japan and America, and coming to the immigration problem of our nationals in California, we are confronted with something for which we are unable to repress our regret. In regard to this problem, the rights and interests of our nationals have been very greatly encroached upon, and the prestige and dignity of our country have been and are still being impaired. Often we were tempted to pass it over without a comment, but this is the very kernel of the problem of the relations between the two countries at present. If we do not relate this, we shall be remiss, as otherwise it is an utter impossibility for us to give a clear view of the position of our Japanese Empire.

California, which was ceded to America by Mexico, being 158,297 square miles in area, is

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by more than 10,000 square miles larger than the territory of Japan, not including her colonies, the area of which is 147,555 square miles. But in our country, the population per square mile is 356, while in California it does not exceed 15.3. And taking the entire area of the United States of America, we will find that there are not more than 31 persons to each square mile. In short, our country is as congested as the steerage of a passenger ship, or like an overcrowded cattle train; but Americans have abundant space, as do the cabin passengers, moving about as they please, with plenty of room and to spare. Under such circumstances it is most natural for our nationals to emigrate to California, just as water seeks its own level; besides, there is the stepping-stone of Hawaii in between us. The men in the sugar industry in Hawaii called for the immigration of our laborers in great numbers and employed them on the plantations; and ever since the annexation of that Island by the United States, the number of our nationals immigrating from that Island to California has been increasing.

Up to that time, those who first sought employment on the opposite shores of the Pacific

were our so-called self-supporting students, who, on the one hand, worked in private families, and on the other, went to school for the pursuit of their education. All of these were men of great ambition, and not simple laborers. This paved the way for our so-called laborers to emigrate to the United States. Thus, according to the statistics prepared by the Immigration Bureau of the United States, the number of Japanese in America is as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>
1880	148
1890	2,039
1895	6,000
1899	35,000
1908	103,683

It will be seen that the reason why the number of the Japanese in the United States increased rapidly since 1899 was simply that facilities for passage from Hawaii to California were opened to the Japanese immigrants. It was primarily the result of Japan's policy of expansion and development which encouraged more than one may think the Japanese immigration to the United States.

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In this way, the number of the Japanese immigrants increased very rapidly, but compared with that of the German, Irish, Italian, or Scandinavian immigrants, it was like a drop of water in the ocean. It is not then utterly inconceivable that, while tolerating this influx of immigrants from the other side of the Atlantic, America should ill-treat those entering from the opposite shores of the Pacific? But this, we may more accurately say, is rather a result of her dread of the Japanese than of the pleasure which the ill-treatment itself would afford.

In this sense, the exclusion of Japanese immigration is quite different in its significance from that of the Chinese.

The Chinese are inferior to any race God ever made. . . . I think there are none so low. . . . Their people have got the perfection of crimes of 4,000 years. . . . I believe that the Chinese have no souls to save, and if they have, they are not worth the saving. ("The New Anti-Japanese Agitation," by Sidney L. Gulick.)

The foregoing citation is a statement made before a Congressional Committee of the United States in 1876 by Frank M. Pixley, representing the municipality of San Francisco. And how

miraculous it is that at the present time the same Chinese have become the good brothers of the Americans, who always back them directly or indirectly, and would pour oil on the trouble between Japan and China and fan it into flame. Is this because Americans love the Chinese, or because they hate the Japanese? We will leave the answer to this question to the discretion of the reader.

Be that as it may, the Japanese immigrants were from the first discriminated against because of their willingness to work for low wages and on account of their alleged encroachment on the occupational field of the white. In this respect, it was to a certain extent similar to the anti-Chinese agitation. But shortly after an agitation was started against the Japanese immigrants on the ground that they were forming an outpost of the Japanese Empire in the territory of the United States. And this anti-Japanese agitation became more and more intense as the number of the Japanese immigrants in the United States increased, or rather at the same time that Japan began to show signs of being the most powerful nation of the Orient.

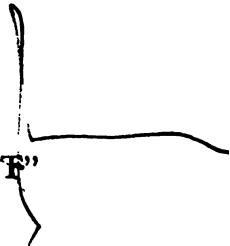
Here is a parallel to this good work and sisterhood. During the time when the Chinese were the chief people in America, called the "Junk era," but also God. Sin, Chamber of commerce, of late in the praise of "Junks" and "treasures" than about

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In other words, anti-Japanese agitation in America originated not because the Japanese were an inferior people, but because they were of an uncommon race; nor because they were an inefficient people, but because they were of an efficient race. Or, it arose, not because of their iniquitous conduct, but because of their good behavior; nor because they were indolent, but rather because they were assiduous. In fact, the anti-Japanese Americans regarded the Japanese immigrants as the advance guards of an invading army of the Japanese Empire into the United States.

CHAPTER IX

“GENTLEMEN’S AGREEMENT”



CHAPTER IX

“GENTLEMEN’S AGREEMENT”

FOR a long time so-called anti-Japanese agitations have been afoot in certain parts of California; but the best known of them was the question of Segregating Japanese School Children in San Francisco in 1906. It is well worth while to consider this incident as at variance with the impression which the war of 1904-1905 made upon Americans.

In April 1906, when the City of San Francisco was stricken by the unprecedented calamity of the earthquake, which destroyed the greater part of the city reducing it to ashes, Americans, availing themselves of the abnormal conditions caused by the event, attempted to obstruct the Japanese colony in their various lines of business and initiated against them a series of persecutions. And in October of the same year began the so-called Japanese school children segregation agi-

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tation. This agitation aimed at the exclusion from all public schools of all Japanese pupils, whether Americans by birth or immigrants, brought in by their parents, and made them attend the segregated schools provided especially for the Chinese children up to that time.

These anti-Japanese agitators, to show that it was objectionable to educate both American and Japanese children in the same schools, began to circulate all sorts of falsehoods regarding the Japanese; lurid pictures were drawn of Japanese young men sitting at the same desk with young American girls, and provoked anti-Japanese sentiment. As a matter of fact, the total number of Japanese children involved was but 93, and they were distributed through 23 schools, and the number of boys over seventeen years of age was only twelve. (See "The Fight for Peace," by Gulick.)

It was quite farcical and ludicrous to endeavor to show by such gross exaggeration that it was imperative to have the Japanese children segregated in the schools.

The matter had been the subject of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of Tokyo

and that of Washington. President Roosevelt, who was alert and had keen vision, used this incident to bring pressure upon us and to secure from us what is known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement." This was, indeed, a great diplomatic victory for America, and a signal accomplishment to the credit of Roosevelt, whose shrewdness commanded universal admiration.

Under that agreement, on the one hand, Japanese children were readmitted to the schools while, on the other hand, Japanese immigration from Hawaii into the United States was forbidden. And not only were the Japanese coming from Hawaii excluded, but the Japanese Government was made to agree that it would thereafter absolutely check new immigration of its laborers to the United States.

Thereupon, the Japanese Government forbade granting passports to any laborer except, 1st, to such immigrants who had come to Japan from the United States on a visit and were returning; 2nd, to the parents, wives, and children of the Japanese immigrants already in America; 3rd, to "settled agriculturists." And, at the same time, the Japanese Government placed similar restric-

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tions on the emigration of our people for Hawaii. This is, indeed, the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement," concluded in 1907, between Secretary Root, on behalf of the Government of the United States, and Ambassador Takahira, on behalf of Japan.

We suppose that from the standpoint of Japan at that time, she had to take such measures because she detected that America was bent not only on segregating the Japanese children in the schools and applying the Chinese Exclusion Law, previously enacted, to Japanese laborers, but also on expelling the Japanese immigrants then settled there, had not Japan yielded voluntarily.

Thus, there was only one of three courses left for Japan to choose: to let the matter take its natural course; or to find some way of backing down without compromising her honor and dignity; or finally, to solve the problem by resorting to extreme measures. However, Japan had just emerged from her conflict with Russia, and, of course, she was not prepared to try again a desperate struggle. Rather than submit to the possible humiliation and injustice of having the Japanese school children segregated by America,

we agreed as a counter proposition to voluntarily put restrictions on our emigration, which agreement, it must be admitted, was a policy of expediency.

The then Foreign Minister Komura advocated the principle of diverting Japanese emigration to Manchuria and Korea. Was this a cloak to cover up our policy of backing down from the stand we had taken toward America up to that time, or was it because he believed in it with sincerity? Whatever that may have been, for the last fourteen years this "Gentlemen's Agreement" on the part of Japan has been carried out and enforced without breaking a single point. Such being the case, can we say then that the immigration question has been completely solved to the satisfaction of both—Japan and America? No, not yet, positively not.

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CHAPTER X

THE REASONS FOR EXCLUDING THE

JAPANESE

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THE REASONS FOR EXCLUDING THE JAPANESE

IT goes without saying that the Japanese Government carried out and enforced scrupulously the "Gentlemen's Agreement" both in its letter and spirit. But in spite of this, the anti-Japanese agitation in California did not abate in the least. Various anti-Japanese bills were introduced in the Assembly; it was even said that there was forty-five such bills in a year. We do not understand at all the reasons for this obstinate opposition to Japanese immigration.

The following is taken from "The New Anti-Japanese Agitation," by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick:

The opposition to Japanese immigration on the part of those who have studied it is not based on racial prejudice, but on unanswerable economic grounds.

But then are Japanese immigrants really lazy? Lascivious? Diseased? Shiftless? Quarrelsome? Ignorant? Lawless? Criminal? Not at all. Indeed, they are quite the reverse. Why then do the Anti-Japanese oppose Japa-

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nese immigration? For what reason do they say that the Japanese are the most undesirable of all Asiatic peoples, either as citizens or as immigrants?

McClatchy is said to be a representative advocate of the anti-Japanese agitation, yet, according to him, the Japanese has energy and ambition. He will work very long hours. He will work for low wages at first. He has the spirit of coöperation, which is greater, you might say, than in any of our Labor Unions. He is sober, frugal and industrious; he is generally law-abiding. He has respect for his superiors and parents. So far as police records go, the Municipal authorities have no trouble with the Japanese. What then is the ground for objection? The combination of these qualities makes him an economic machine against which it is hopeless for the white race to compete.

The objections are that they are non-assimilable. They don't intermarry and we wouldn't want them to intermarry. The Japanese is always a Japanese. The Japanese are rapidly securing control of everything. The whites have melted away.

We cannot deny that McClatchy's confession has, in the main, expressed the truth regarding the reasons for the anti-Japanese agitation.

Of course, among the Japanese immigrants, there may be not a few questionable persons, gamblers, drinkers, or those who make quarrels and wranglings their principal occupation. But we do not admit that the Japanese immigrants

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are inferior in a general way to those of Italy, Ireland, Russia, and other countries. No. According to public opinion, they surpass the immigrants of other races. We cannot doubt that the chief reasons for the exclusion of Japanese immigration are not derived from their defects, but from their relatively better characteristics.

Take, for example, the Japanese colony at Livingston, and see how the Japanese, as immigrants, have proved their excellent qualities.

An American, who resides at Livingston, sent to Sidney Gulick, the writer, the following letter regarding the Japanese in that colony:

The Japanese residents of this community are of rather a high class, all of them well educated, owning their own farms for the most part, having purchased most of them previous to August 10th, 1913, at which time the California Alien Land Act went into effect.

They occupy a section of territory pretty much to themselves, having secured the land in a body and colonized it, developing it and cultivating fruits and vineyards principally. They have proven themselves to be desirable citizens, sober, honest and industrious.

They do not lower the standard of living, being ambitious to own and to live in just as good houses as their neighbors, to wear just as good clothes and drive just as good horses and automobiles.

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I do not believe that the Japanese, such as we have here, drive out desirable white citizens. As all good farmers do, of whatever nationality, they take the place of unsuccessful farmers at times.

As to their being good citizens, I cannot speak too highly of the patriotism of the local Japanese. In every Liberty Loan Drive, Red Cross Drive, War Savings Stamp Drive, Y. M. C. A. Drive, and all of the various drives undertaken during the war these people did more than their share. They did not have to be solicited in this connection, but sent their own representatives to ascertain what was expected of them in each case and then went that one better. (See "The New Anti-Japanese Agitation," by Dr. Gulick.)

We admit that the Japanese in Livingston may perhaps be the cream of the Japanese immigrants. So we do not want to say that all Japanese immigrants generally in California and in the entire United States are just like them. But we cannot help thinking that they are, on the whole, not widely different from those specimens. It is said that the amount subscribed by the Japanese in California to the Liberty Bonds alone totaled, indeed, \$2,648,800. We do not know whether there were any other immigrants, besides the Japanese, who subscribed to such a large amount in proportion to their number, which was

only about 10,000, including old people and children.

Livingston apparently was a desolate, brown, waste land; when the wind blew, sand and dust thickened the air, and it was, of course, not suitable for farming. For that reason there was no one engaged in the reclamation of the land. Although in rare instances some undertook such work, they all failed without exception. Twelve years ago the Japanese came to the place, and since then they have toiled under hardships and privations, defying and conquering nature by human ingenuity. Now, they have changed that waste land into an earthly Paradise with rich fruits and luxurious flowers in all their splendor. How can we say that it is only this place that underwent such changes? Wherever the Japanese emigrants go the place generally undergoes such changes. How then can any one claim that the Japanese emigrants work for themselves only?

Yet, at the outskirts of Livingston, where the Japanese immigrants were, as stated above, industrious, self-denying, clean, the most Americanized of the Japanese, law-abiding and Christians, and which may be called an ideal Japanese colony,

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a signboard, eighteen feet high, was posted with the inscription "No more Japanese wanted." In short, Americans want to exclude the Japanese, not because they are unassimilable, but because they are Japanese, and it is only on this account that Americans do discriminate against the Japanese.

We presume that whatever the colonization of the State of California is to-day is due, of course, to a great extent to the efforts of the Japanese immigrants. And yet they are being excluded for that very reason. The only fault to be found with them is that they are too efficient. They have, heretofore, been giving way step by step to the pressure brought to bear upon them, and now the possibility of their being expelled from the country stares them in the face.

CHAPTER IX
ALIEN LAND LAW



CHAPTER XI

ALIEN LAND LAW

FOR Japan, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was quite a humiliation. Following solely the line of least resistance, and disregarding entirely actual loss or gain, Japan managed to reach an agreement, saving appearances. Consequently new immigration of Japanese laborers was completely cut off, and the number of the Japanese then in California could hardly be maintained except by marriages and births.

Nevertheless, the anti-Japanese cry grew louder and louder, and the Japanese Government endeavored to win the good-will of Americans. To meet what was called the public agitation in America, the Government officials and the people of Japan did everything that possibly could be done to allay the anti-Japanese sentiment there. Such an instance may be seen in the fact that in 1915, when the Panama-Pacific International Ex-

position was held in San Francisco, Japan took the lead in accepting America's invitation.

But the intensity of the anti-Japanese feeling did not abate any. As previously stated, during the period of 1911 and 1915, approximately fifty-one anti-Japanese bills were introduced in the Assembly of California; can we not infer from this how stubborn anti-Japanese agitation was? And in May, 1913, the Alien Land Law Bill was passed in the California Assembly. This bill provides that aliens eligible to become citizens of the United States may acquire the title to, or own, or transfer, or utilize, or inherit, real property, while aliens ineligible to citizenship were limited only to their leasing land for farming purposes for a period of not more than three years. To explain in the concrete, it made it absolutely impossible for the Japanese to own land, and in addition thereto, it limited their leases to a period not to exceed three years.

Magnanimous and conciliatory as Japan was, she had had Ambassador Chinda, then our resident representative at Washington, protest three times; President Wilson, thoroughly disgusted with the recklessness of the California Assembly,

dispatched Secretary of State Bryan to California in order to have the bill withdrawn, but, instead, it aroused the reactionary spirit of the anti-Japanese party in California, and on May 3rd, 1913, it was passed by the Assembly; on the 19th of the same month it was signed by Governor Johnson, who was looked upon as the leader of the anti-Japanese party; and since the 10th day of August of the same year it has been enforced rigidly.

Naturally, there was not a single word in the text of the law that specifically referred to the Japanese. The only discrimination in the provisions was that referring to aliens eligible or ineligible to citizenship of the United States. But as there is a provision in the Federal Laws that no Asiatic people can become citizens, taking advantage of this provision and making it the pivot of their policy, the anti-Japanese agitators achieved their object by trampling upon, and contrary to the express provisions of the existing Treaty between Japan and the United States.

After the incident of the School Children Segregation, Elihu Root, the most prominent lawyer of America, said that it would be a violation of

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the Constitution of the United States, as a treaty takes precedence over the State laws, should the State laws conflict with a treaty. However, the anti-Japanese party ingeniously utilized the racial discriminations provided in the Federal laws as a basis for anti-Japanese agitation, and on the strength of this provision it strove to give the Federal Government no excuse for intervention. This matter was again dropped by our Government. And so, in the last analysis, the Japanese completely lost the right to own land, and furthermore they became disqualified to exercise their right to lease land for longer than three years. In spite of this, the Government and the people of Japan acquiesced, as though it were something inevitable.

At that time, Viscount Makino, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, asked Viscount Bryce, scholarly statesman and an authority on America, who happened to be visiting Japan, for his opinion about this matter, and Bryce advised him to rely on America, as the sense of justice of Americans was so keen that they would ultimately do what was right. Minister Makino, talking to others, said that this was just the prin-

ciple and spirit which governed our attitude towards America. (See "Japan and the Gentlemen's Agreement," by Dr. Sidney Gulick.) We do not know whether this conversation actually took place or not, but while our trust in America was sincere, with what keen sense of justice have Americans repaid us in return for our trust, and how long are we to keep on trusting?

It is not necessary to dwell further on the fact that the colonization of California was due very largely to Japanese immigration. As a matter of fact, this is only incidental to what the Japanese themselves had done for their own interests, and for that matter, we do not want at all to have America and the Americans acknowledge their debt of gratitude; but facts are facts and this is an obvious fact.

It is hard to imagine what California would have been to-day had she never employed any Chinese or Japanese labor. Take, for instance, the single item of rentals. All agree that Japanese are willing to pay high rates. If they average \$50 per acre annually, the stream of gold flowing into the hands of California landowners for rentals approximates \$16,500,000 each year. That sum certainly does not go into Japanese banks and 'back to Japan'! Japanese also are good purchasers of automobiles, of house furniture and

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victrolas, of fertilizers for their fields, of agricultural implements and of personal clothing. A considerable part of the produce, moreover, which Japanese raise is transported by American railroads; and handled by white labor.

In all these respects it cannot be denied that Japanese make good immigrants. ("The New Anti-Japanese Agitation," by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick.)

This is, indeed, a fair view. The Japanese immigrants are, however, looked on as being encumbrances who, as a matter of course, should be expelled, and are receiving extremely harsh and somewhat inhuman treatment, as though they were devils or demons. And our Government and people are unwaveringly showing their unlimited and absolute trust in the sense of justice of the people of the United States.

CHAPTER XII
NEW ANTI-JAPANESE AGITATION



CHAPTER XII

NEW ANTI-JAPANESE AGITATION

THE enforcement of the Alien Land Law of 1913 had almost upset the foundation of the economic situation of the Japanese immigrants in California. The Japanese, however, purchased the land as a policy of expediency, in the name of their children who were born in the United States, because those of native birth are, of course, qualified citizens, and they acted as guardians to their minor children, as required by the American laws. And as to real estate corporations, the Japanese are allowed to own shares in them up to 49 per cent, as the maximum limit, and the remainder of the shares are carried in the name of their children, or in the name of Americans interested in such corporations. In this way they have, within the bounds of the inconvenient restrictions, managed somehow to continue their activities up to this day.

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But the State Government authorities were strict with these guardians and attempted to the utmost to prevent the Japanese from owning land. In the spring of last year (1919), the great anti-Japanese movement was started, and the California Oriental Exclusion League was organized, the influence of which, like consuming flames, is rapidly spreading over the entire United States.

The Outline of the program of legislation that they urged embodied the following:

- (1) Cancellation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."
- (2) Exclusion of "Picture Brides."
- (3) Rigorous exclusion of Japanese as immigrants.
- (4) Confirmation and legalization of the policy that Asiatics shall be forever barred from American citizenship.
- (5) Amendment to Sec. 1 of Article XIV of the Federal Constitution providing that no child born in the United States of foreign parents shall be considered an American citizen unless both parents are of a race that is eligible to citizenship.

McClatchy, the chief editor of a Sacramento newspaper and the champion of the California anti-Japanese party, added another paragraph to the foregoing five, as follows:

- (6) Provide such labor as may be necessary for the development and prosperity of the country, and which cannot be had here or secured from desirable immigration, by bringing in Chinese for a fixed term of years, confining their activities to certain localities and certain industries so that they cannot offer an economic menace to American labor and send them back to China when the need for their services has ceased.

Thus, in September and October, 1919, the program outlined above was presented to the Committees on Immigration of the Senate and House of Representatives, and they were urged to put it in force. In the meantime, the protagonists of this program wanted to call a special session of the Assembly in California in order to enact new anti-Japanese laws for the thorough enforcement of the Alien Land Law theretofore in force; but Governor Stephens did not approve of it. Consequently, seizing the opportunity of general elections for the State Assembly on November 20th, and utilizing the initiative provided for in the first paragraph of Art. IV of the Constitution of the State of California, they are intending to bring about a prompt decision by general votes.

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This initiative must be carried out in case there are about 55,000 petitioners, or 8 per cent of the voters at the preceding elections for Governor. And as we have learned that there is already a membership of more than 300,000 in the Oriental Exclusion League, it may be possible that the number of the petitioners will attain that required by the laws. At these elections the anti-Japanese bills are going to be distributed to the people of the State for voting "Yes" or "No," and if the majority of the voters vote in the affirmative, they will automatically become law, even without the signature of the Governor or the Assembly, and take effect five days thereafter. We should, therefore, expect severer and harsher anti-Japanese laws to take effect after November of this year than there are at present.

If, by any chance, this initiative is not carried out, the Assembly is going to meet in January, 1921, and so, in either case, we can do nothing but expect the new anti-Japanese law to become operative ere long.

We cannot understand why "Nemesis" pursues the Japanese in California so persistently. On their account, the Question of the School Children

arose; on their account, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was brought about; on their account, the Alien Land Law came into existence; on their account, the so-called "Picture Marriage" had to be abandoned from November of last year (1919); and on their account, what severe law shall now be enacted again?

When the United States participated in the great war the devoted service the Japanese in America rendered to her cause was, indeed, beyond comparison with the service rendered by other immigrants. The Japanese not only responded to the call for subscriptions to the war bonds, but they also generally took the lead in the contributions for the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., and for any other phases of civic activities. But now they are repaid with enmity for their devotion. What is the reason for this? In the main, it is because they are most efficient farmers.

The agricultural products of the entire State of California are estimated at about \$500,000,000, while those of the Japanese in that State are roughly estimated at \$55,000,000, or 11 per cent of the whole; the total area already under cultivation in the State is about 12,000,000 acres,

and the products per acre average \$42 or less, of which the Japanese have 390,000 acres under cultivation and the products per acre average \$141 or more. (The data gathered in 1918.) This shows that the rate of production by the Japanese is about 350 per cent higher than the average rate of production in the entire State. And this higher rate is the chief reason for the jealousy of their neighbors, and for the discriminations against them.

The anti-Japanese advocates say that the Japanese do not assimilate with Americans. But the Italian, the Russian or the German immigrants—all retain the manners and customs of their mother countries. In that respect is there any difference between them and the Japanese immigrants? The only difference between them is that they are Occidentals and the Japanese are Orientals. And so we would ask whether or not the United States, making such discriminations on that account only, is entitled to be the leader of the world in urging emphatically "Justice and Humanity;" where then is what we call the sense of justice of Americans upon which we are unwaveringly relying?

CHAPTER XIII
THE JAPANESE SHALL NOT ENTER



CHAPTER XIII

THE JAPANESE SHALL NOT ENTER

ACCORDING to statistics taken at the end of June, 1919, the number of Japanese in continental United States was 126,000, and 70,000 or less of that number were in California; and in Hawaii there were 119,888, making a total of over 246,000. In the State of California approximately 500,000 acres of land are being cultivated by a part of these Japanese. Despite the fact that the anti-Japanese atmosphere is thickening day by day, and that the unfair and unjust laws, the harsh and brutal treatment, and the oppression benumbing their faculties are incessantly growing in intensity all around them, these people are still untiringly engaged in their peaceful occupations. Such being the case, what will be their future? If we take the past by which to judge the future, we may expect any day the promulgation of a law for the expulsion or banishment of the Japanese people.

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There can be no doubt that the anti-Japanese sentiment of to-day is not merely localized in California, but is an epidemic prevailing all over America. All Americans—from the Pacific coast to the Atlantic, from the Canadian border to Mexico—are generally being infected by the anti-Japanese fever. The American Federation of Labor held a meeting on June 12th, this year (1920), and adopted a resolution to make the following request of the Congress of the United States :

To have the "Gentlemen's Agreement" revoked; to have the Japanese and other Asiatic peoples altogether expelled from America; and also to have the "Picture Marriages" abolished.

Besides, in the platform of the Republican Party, published on the 10th of the same month, it was stated in effect that the Republican Party believes that the existing policy regarding Asiatic immigrants, which bars them practically from entering the country, is sound and should be continued; and that it will endeavor to educate and Americanize the aliens in Hawaii. And in the platform of the Democratic Party the following

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paragraph fathered by Phelan, of the Asiatic Exclusion League, was inserted:

The policy prohibiting the entry of the Asiatic peoples to the country is a declaration of our citizens; and the geographical relations and domestic affairs make it expedient that the Oriental Exclusion Law be carried out; we, therefore, declare that we must support this policy. (See the special cable report from San Francisco, dated July 2nd, 1920.)

Public opinion in the United States being what it is, the outlook for the Japanese immigration can by no means be said to be hopeful.

Moreover, the United States is not only intending to clear the Japanese immigrants out of all her territories and bar completely their entry to the country, but there is also an undesirable tendency to obstruct the expansion of Japanese people into various parts of the world.

Take, for instance, Mexico. Swinging her front gate wide open, she welcomes warmly Japanese immigrants. In spite of this, the United States is watching with extremely nervous concern and with suspicious eyes for whatever move Japan might make in this quarter; Japan is accused without any proper ground. A rumor, like the

one that Japan purchased Magdalena Bay in Lower California and was constructing a naval base there, is now too stale to contradict, and there is no need particularly to mention it. When our *Asama* grounded in Turtle Bay, the Americans claimed that it was done purposely in the course of a search for a naval base. When our naval training ship *Yakumo* called at that port, they asserted again that it was for supplying arms; and the Senate Committee of the United States made the statement that, according to information, there was a report current that the Carranza Government received from Japan a supply of raw material for a munitions factory, and at the same time, it sought to conclude a closer alliance with Mexico. Although this is unbelievable, the growth of the Japanese influence in Mexico is worthy of notice. (See New York cable report, dated June 3rd, 1920.)

Such being the case, it is most natural that the Government of Japan, primarily bent on conciliation in all matters, would not encourage the immigration of her people into Mexico. However, according to public opinion in America, it appears as though besides Mexico being roped off by the

Japanese exclusion, similar interdiction covered also South America. But then, the *Chicago Tribune* in its issue of May 4th of this year (1920) commendably said that—

The reason for the overseas expansion is to seek an outlet for the excess population. It is not a matter of luxury, as it is said to be a mere policy. So to speak, the overseas expansion is to Japan, indeed, an indispensable necessity for her existence.

But, further, referring to the rumor that Japan may send her emigrants to South America on a large scale, it stated that—

If there is such a plan, it belongs to the sphere from which the United States must expel them. Unless the plan is abandoned, the relations between Japan and America will become a matter of grave concern.

This means that if Japan sends her emigrants to South America on a large scale, the United States would have to see to it that they are expelled even if she has to resort to force of arms.

In short, it is not unwarranted to state that public opinion in the United States, in general, wants to set up on both continents of America the sign-board with this inscription: "The Japanese

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Shall Not Enter." And so Americans have grown quite arrogant and behave as if they owned the whole world. Even in certain parts of the Orient there were occasions when the Americans tried to prevent Japan from carrying out measures deemed indispensable for the existence of her people; and it seems as if they were trying to drive all the Japanese out of the Philippines, China, Siberia, nay, even out of Korea.

CHAPTER XIV
AMERICAN ADVANCE AND JAPANESE
RETROGRESSION

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CHAPTER XIV

AMERICAN ADVANCE AND JAPANESE RETROGRESSION

THE world war has expanded America's influence and elevated her position in every respect, and her pressure on Japan has increased in proportion. The present day problems between Japan and America are not merely a question of immigration into California. The very position of Japan in the Orient is threatened from time to time. We cannot help deplored the fact that since the war the relations between the two countries are tending to become more and more precarious as compared with those before the war.

It needs no reiteration that the government officials and the people of Japan have heretofore been eager and anxious to come to an understanding with America, to regain America's good will, and to maintain friendly relations with her. We went so far as to acknowledge as accomplished

fact the annexation by America of Hawaii, where we have more than 100,000 of our immigrants, or even her acquisition of the Philippines, that lie within a stone's throw of our Formosa. When America shot, as it were, a bolt from the blue, by proposing to internationalize the Manchurian Railways, and tried to turn the fruit of our expedition of 1904-1905 into a fiasco, we were barely able to maintain our stand by making a joint protest with Russia.

Compare, for instance, Japan's annexation of Korea with America's acquisition of the Philippines; there are wide differences: whether America owns the Philippines or not, makes no particular difference to her for her independence or existence; whereas, if the influence of another Power were to extend to and control Korea, it would be a mortal blow to Japan. The defense of Korea is the very defense of Japan, and if Japan did not hold Korea, her independence and existence would become uncertain. This reason can very well be understood by any one in the world—even by Americans.

Although American missionaries, adhering to their practices under the defunct Korean rule,

were prone to disregard the laws and regulations inaugurated by the Japanese Government, Japan, mindful of American sentiment, accorded them cordial treatment as if they were good friends or looked upon them with indulgence like spoiled children. We know that American missionaries had enjoyed specially liberal treatment at the hands of our Resident-General down to the early period of our Governors-General.

In 1908, when America sent her grand fleet on a cruise to the Orient, led by sixteen capital ships, in order to show our cordial welcome, our Government extended a special invitation to the fleet to visit our country. It entered Yokohama harbor on October 18th and left there on the 25th. How warmly our Government officials and people received her fleet at that time can be easily realized from a passage of the letter of thanks written by President Roosevelt to Emperor Meiji saying that the officials and men of the fleet had reported that, although they received cordial welcome everywhere they went, none surpassed the enthusiastic reception given them in Japan. About a month after the visit of this grand fleet—on November 30th, 1908—

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diplomatic notes with reference to the maintenance of peace in the Far East were exchanged between Japan and America. The object and purpose of the notes were to encourage the free and peaceful development of the commerce of the two countries in the Pacific, to maintain the status quo in the Orient, to uphold the principles of equal opportunities in China, and should contingencies arise, to have an agreement negotiated between them. Each of these was, however, a negative agreement and no new development whatever evolved; yet it appeared that the relations between the two countries tended to become somewhat smoother by this exchange of notes.

During the World War—July, 1917—our Government sent Ambassador Plenipotentiary Ishii to the United States, and on November 2nd of the same year the so-called Ishii-Lansing Joint Declaration was brought about, a paragraph of which says that:

The Governments of both the United States and Japan recognize that specific interests arise in the States whose territories lie in proximity to their own and that accordingly, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan possesses special interests in China, particularly so in the localities contiguous to the territories of Japan.

Taking this as a recognition by America of the special position of Japan in China, the Government and the general public of our country received it with gratification. But America did not at all recognize our special position. No, the United States of America, being the elder with a republican form of government, behaves towards the New Republic of China as though she herself occupied the special position there.

This may have been because China had something to seek from the United States, and yet it is clear that America has long had aspirations to make China the great arena of her activities in the Far East and to monopolize her as though she alone had the call to operate there.

Furthermore, the United States attempted to gain the upper hand in Siberia. It was not only recently that Americans had tried to get control of the Siberian Railroad and to grab the rights and interests of Siberia. In June, 1917, without stopping off in Japan, the party of Special Envoy Root went direct to Siberia and finally to the Russian capital with the intention of concluding an economic pact between Russia and America; and Stevens, a member of the party, accompanied

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by two hundred engineers, went to Siberia. From all these facts, can we not draw an inference as to what the intention of America was? At the closing stage of the great war, pretending to help the Czecho-Slovak armies and taking the initiative, before we despatched our troops, the United States proposed to us to despatch American troops to Siberia. And later, giving us a mere notice, she withdrew all her troops from Siberia and also announced her withdrawal from participation in the supervision of the Siberian Railroad.

The impertinence of American diplomacy is an old story, but still there is in it that which surprises and stupefies its co-workers. America's waywardness may for a time be overlooked, but if she tries to force others to do as she pleases, it must be said that she deserves almost unqualified censure.

Not content to apply the Monroe Doctrine to both continents of North and South America, the United States seem to be bent on extending it to the continent of Asia also. This is why America looks at Japan as constituting a menace to her.

CHAPTER XV
THE SO-CALLED SHANTUNG
QUESTION

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CHAPTER XV

THE SO-CALLED SHANTUNG QUESTION

THE so-called Shantung question is a farce framed up at the very beginning of last year by a coterie consisting of Wellington Vi-kyuin Koo, C. T. Wong, Lansing, the then Secretary of State of the United States, and others. But this farce failed completely at the Paris Conference. The facts were so obvious that the question was absolutely beyond dispute; it could hardly be called a victory for Japanese diplomacy. Not only had Japan come to an understanding with the Allies previous to the battle of Tsing-tao, but there was also an express provision clearly defined in the Treaty signed by Japan and China on May 25th, 1915, at Peking, which stated that the Government of China agreed to any or all matters which the Government of Japan would arrange with the Government of Germany, pertaining to the disposition of any or all the rights,

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interests, and concessions, relative to Shantung Province, which Germany possessed in China by virtue of treaty or otherwise.

What reason is there for China to renounce now this express provision and to exclude Japan, so that she herself may make an agreement with Germany? Is it not on this account that it was provided in Art. 156, Sec. VIII of the Paris Peace Treaty that Germany renounced in favor of Japan all the rights, claims, and privileges, relating to Shantung Province, particularly, the region of Kiau-chau Bay, the railroads, the mines, and the cable-lines, acquired by the Treaty concluded on March 6th, 1896, and by all other arrangements made between Germany and China?

But in spite of Japan's previous declaration to the Government of China that she would restore even the leased territory of Kiau-chau Bay, which declaration was specially reiterated at the Paris Conference, China declined to negotiate the various Shantung questions between the two countries, which should be settled preliminary to proceeding in the matter of its restoration; she is to-day holding up Japan just as she did when

Japan occupied Kiau-chau at the time of the war, and she is making it impossible for Japan to do anything at all with it. We need not point out that this attitude of the Chinese Government is, of course, due to the fact that she is relying upon the backing of America.

It seems that America, jealous of Japan's influence in Shantung Province, intends to drive out Japan from that territory. The attempt made by the Senate of the United States to amend the Paris Treaty by substituting "China" for "Japan" in every Article pertaining to Shantung Province; or the idea of Senator Lodge, a prominent leader of the Republican Party, to withhold approval of every Article relating to the Shantung question, and to reserve absolute freedom of action in case complications should arise between Japan and China, are instances, and are only part of what has been brought to light.

China, that has adopted the principle of accommodation or submission to a stronger Power or Powers as the key to her international policy, tries to destroy the Paris Treaty by taking advantage of the anti-Japanese sentiment in America, in the same way as she attempted some years

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ago to abrogate the Shimonoseki Treaty (The Peace Treaty between Japan and China), by taking advantage of the joint intervention of the three countries, Germany, Russia, and France. But shortsighted as the Chinese statesmen are, they would, of course, not reflect at all upon how far-reaching the result of such action might be either for advantage or disadvantage.

Now, to examine why the United States opposes Japan as to the Shantung question, let us see, for instance, what Senator Lodge said with reference to it in the Senate:

Japan is establishing the great Empire in the Orient which will become increasingly dangerous to America and threaten the peace of the world. Japan had frequently disregarded her own pledges about China and Korea, and by violating the policy of the open door, she had undermined the foreign trade in its foundation in Manchuria and Korea. She declared that she would restore Shantung to China, but she made no definite statement as to when she would restore it. Japan is thoroughly imbued with German principles; she regards a war as a sort of trade; and by getting hold of China, Japan is going to build up a dreadfully mighty force in the world. Like Germany and Austria had coerced 26,000,000 Slavonic peoples of their territories who had no heart to serve with the colors, and employed them for the purpose of military conquest, so Japan is going to employ

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for her military purpose the innumerable population in China. Japan has already invaded Siberia. Should Japan control Siberia and develop China in the Japanese way, she will become a force in a short time which will make Europe fear her. But the object she is aiming at most is the United States of America. If this is the case, unless we possess a superior navy, we shall in the next great war for the preservation of civilization be in the same position as was France in the last.

Japan's possession of Shantung must not be tolerated. It is not moral. We should, by all means, have the Paris Treaty properly amended, and instead of granting Shantung to Japan, we should return it direct to China. (See the *London Times*, dated Oct. 15th, 1919.)

From the foregoing assertion, we can see how very shallow is the foundation of the anti-Japanese view of prominent men of the United States. Lodge is not a man of the so-called anti-Japanese brand, like Johnson, Hearst, Phelan, and the like. He was an intimate friend of Roosevelt, and is a strong leader in the Republican Party. But such is his view. And this shows that anti-Japanese sentiment in America is not local, confined to California, nor is it a fever prevalent temporarily.



PART III

WHAT WILL BE THE RESULT OF THE COMPLICATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND AMERICA?

CHAPTER XVI

ANTI-JAPANESE AND PRO-JAPANESE

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ANTI-JAPANESE AND PRO-JAPANESE

AMERICA knows how Japan is hampered on account of her small and narrow area, her over-population, and her lack of raw materials. In newspapers like the New York *Evening Post*, it was observed that—

Japan is a small country with an excessive population; her emigrants are not welcomed at any place they go; she lacks in materials. At last, she has planned to seek rich resources and provide a space for her expansion and development in Manchuria and Siberia where the population is sparse. Therefore, we do not want to ignore the fact that Japan is being forced to do so from her economic necessity. Although the United States intends to prevent Japan's activities and policy of her unavoidable expansion, such an attempt will only incur Japan's ill-will and nothing will be profited by it.

This is, indeed, plain reason. Japan's overseas development is not planned to gratify vanity, nor for pleasure, and, of course, it is neither with a sinister design nor merely to satisfy ¹ordinate

ambition. But it is because she is compelled to do so by inevitable necessity for the existence of her people. In short, it is but an actuation of her instinct.

Being fully acquainted with this plain fact, the United States, using every available means and method and bending all her national resources, is trying to obstruct this course of Japan. We are at a loss to understand what this means.

Notwithstanding our inability to understand its meaning, we must see the fact as fact squarely. In other words, it seems as if the United States were about to adopt what appears to be a national policy, viz.: to block Japan forever. For example, the recent great expansion of her navy was only undertaken as necessary to carry out this national policy.

We are quite tired of hearing the abusive words or the venomous utterances of the so-called anti-Japanese people. But there are also those in America who are pro-Japanese. Now let us listen to some of the views in that quarter. Charles Sherrill, one of the pro-Japanese in the Republican party, who is likely to become resident Ambassador to Japan, in the event that this party

accedes to political power, visited the country and made careful observations of her condition, and after returning to America he made the following statement as a plan for promoting the friendly relations between Japan and America:

- 1st: Japan to prevent her people in the Pacific Coast states from competition with the white laborers by gradually diminishing their number.
- 2nd: Japan to restrain the evil tendency of the immigrants who try to Japanize Hawaii,—not only in its customs but even in its ideas.
- 3rd: Japan to renounce the acquired rights of the Caroline and Mariana Archipelagoes.
- 4th: Japan to continue the embargo on "Picture Marriages" of the Japanese in America.
- 5th: Japan to close up the Japanese primary schools in Hawaii, and at the same time to recall to Japan her subjects who persist in fostering their mother tongue, customs, and loyalty to the Imperial House.
- 6th: Japan to permanently discontinue all her designs relative to the Philippines.

This, to be sure, is a very convenient view of a pro-Japanese American favoring America. It is said that there are two schools in America:—the anti- and the pro-Japanese, and that the influence of the pro-Japanese by far surpasses that of the anti-Japanese. We do not know whether

*the laborer
the foreigner
-for whom
this child
foreign school
its master, he
no longer
wishes to go
and to return*

this is the case or not. But let us concede it for a moment—an ample concession indeed—and yet we shall have to come to the conclusion that both the anti- and the pro-Japanese do not differ much in their fundamentals. Both aim at bottling up Japan. The only little difference we can discern between them is in their methods—the one is harsh and the other moderate. If we examine into the substance of their activities, we will find that both are alike, and the differences are only in degrees and not in kinds. And do not views like the above confirm the similarity?

How do people regard the pro-Japanese was the so-called query of the *Outlook*, an influential weekly, in New York? The *Outlook* said that the Senate of the United States, while tolerating and giving a tacit consent to the unrestrained practices of the European Powers in China, according to their respective ambitions, is furiously objecting only to the policy of Japan in Shantung Province. Is this not applying two different standards to international morality? Thus, the *Outlook* rebuked the United States for trying to apply only to Japan a particular standard of international morality, and continued to say that

Americans ought to examine themselves first. This is, indeed, a fair argument. We are more than delighted and gratified to know that there are men of such sound sense in America. But this is rather a solitary voice crying out in the wilderness, and it is only to warn Americans not to hamper the peaceful development of Japan in China. We might say that the above is not the only instance of America's behavior over which Japan feels greatly aggrieved. Should America find it necessary, if at all, to strike down Japan by force, this would be the right time, as at present she is in a state of preparedness on account of the great world war. This could be accomplished within half a year. But it is the opinion of the *Outlook* that America should not lower herself to adopt such a contemptible policy. These are the words of one of the great pro-Japanese advocates, but we may infer how overbearing the general sentiment in America would be towards Japan!

In short, both the pro- and the anti-Japanese parties have one and the same policy in regard to the single aim of obstructing the growth of the influence of Japan in the Pacific. If there

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is any difference between them, the anti-Japanese are trying to effect the obstruction of the development of Japan by stretching out their hands and reaching every corner of the Far East, while the pro-Japanese do not assume an attitude as aggressive as the former. This being the case, what hope does the attitude of the pro-Japanese hold out for the support of the Japanese cause?

CHAPTER XVII
HOW CAN WE BE OPTIMISTIC?

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HOW CAN WE BE OPTIMISTIC?

If we consider without bias what we have stated in the foregoing chapters, it is, we presume, sufficient to show us how the relations between Japan and the United States stand at present. No matter how we may try to view their relations, we cannot say that they are harmonious and peaceful! The United States is making it an object to exclude the Japanese not only from within her territories, but also from elsewhere. In other words, America as a nation would bar the Japanese immigrants from going anywhere in the world. Why is it that the world, while cognizant of the Japanese exclusion movement that is taking place in a corner of California, is not aware of identical movements going on in China, Korea, Manchuria, and Siberia?

People sometimes say that anti-Japanese sentiments exist only among the white laborers, or

only among the politicians of inordinate ambition in two or three localities, where they are endeavoring to gain popularity by exploiting such sentiments of the laborers; or it is claimed that such sentiments exist within the nationalistic and imperialistic Republican Party only, and that there is almost no indication of such feelings within the Democratic Party.

It is simple enough to make such assertions. However, the reasons underlying the Japanese exclusion movement are not necessarily so simple. We are aware that the real sentiment for Japanese exclusion had thoroughly spread from corner to corner and from person to person in America. We know that the movement for the exclusion of the Japanese by Americans did not spring from mere sentiment, but had its root in the national impulse of America. We cannot help noticing that there are indications of uncontrollable tendencies in the development of national conditions in both countries and in the expansion of their peoples, just as there were between Persia and Greece, Rome and Carthage in ancient times, Germany and France, Great Britain and Russia in modern history. We doubt

whether such tendencies can be checked by mere hand-shaking, banqueting, flattering, or by a policy of servility, obsequiousness and complaisance on Japan's part.

Not infrequently both the pro-American and the pro-Japanese urge that mutual concessions and compromises be made. This is fine, indeed! But that can be done only when there are certain things on both sides susceptible of concessions. We do not know what more our country can hereafter concede to America. We have conceded her almost everything. When she said the Japanese immigrants were troublesome, our country put a stop to emigration to America by making the "Gentlemen's Agreement." When she complained about "Picture Marriages," our country had them discontinued. It is true that our special position in Manchuria was recognized by America, but in order to participate in the Consortium initiated by America for the benefit of China, we have abandoned the greater part of our rights in Manchuria and Mongolia. Any proposition, almost without exception, coming from America, would have had our ready concurrence. Rarely did we make any protests, and

every time we dropped them. In short, our guiding principle has been to make concessions, whereas America's principle is "high pressure." So far this has been the course of events between the two countries. Under such circumstances how can we make concessions or compromises? It would be all on one side only.

In order to retain the good-will of America, or to yield, though unwillingly, to her egotism, we have already made extreme concessions, and we do not see how we could go any further. Because the Japanese-American question of to-day is not merely a question of honor and dignity, but a question of the very independence and existence of Japan.

Pointing to the expansion of the American navy, people sometimes say that its object is to be prepared to contest with England the supremacy of sea-power. Perhaps it is. But why has America planned the increase of her Pacific fleet since Roosevelt became President? For what reasons did America consider it important enough at one time to collect her entire fleet in the Pacific? For what purposes was the Panama Canal excavated and, particularly, why did

America hold control of the Canal in her own hands exclusively? Why is the formation of a strong and independent Pacific fleet now being persistently advocated by some Senators, such as Lodge and Smith, and what is the real motive back of it? (See Washington cable report, dated April 30th, 1920.) What caused Secretary of the Navy Daniels to propose to widen Pearl Bay in Hawaii and make it suitable for quartering the entire Pacific fleet; to establish the repair and building dock-yards for war and merchant ships in the Guam islands; to make San Diego the southern naval training base of the Pacific fleet; to build a base for the destroyer-flotilla in Port Angeles and Astoria, and finally to establish a fuel-supply station in Alaska? What is all this but preparation to meet the needs of the new Pacific fleet, by enlarging the naval bases on the Pacific coast? (See Washington cable report, dated March 8th, 1920.) What was the purpose of the United States in setting up military and naval equipments on the Pacific coast to cost during a period of five years the sum of \$300,000,000? And what is the object of the maneuvers to be conducted on a large scale early in January,

1921? (See the *Kokumin-shimbun*, dated June 22nd, 1920.) We cannot believe that all these preparations are directed, to say the least, against the British Navy only.

Since passing through the great war, the peace of the world has become more precarious than formerly. The war that was to end wars, as it was called, has left innumerable seeds of war for the future. We cannot believe that of all countries the United States of America alone has become a heavenly modern State towering above all in this dangerously precarious world, because, while on one hand she is preaching the great gospel of world peace, she is on the other bent on her armaments. We do not know for what purposes she wants these armaments. Is it for a sort of ornament, or merely for pastime, or as a means to satisfy her frivolous pride? We are utterly unable to be so indifferent and unconcerned as to take such a view of the matter, try as hard as we would.

Whether Americans are conscious of this fact or not, we cannot be blind to the fact that an occasion may soon arise, perhaps sooner than anticipated, when we shall feel the pressure of

the American Navy. And when that time comes, whether or not we can remain calm and unshaken ourselves, still holding that the American Navy is only directed against the British Navy, we do not know.

The first important thing in the handling of international situations is that one should not deceive oneself, and the second is that one should not deceive others. We should not temporize; we should not idealize America just because we do not want to undertake the task by ourselves. We need not say soothing words to Americans, concealing the truth about Japan, just because we do not want to speak it out. Admit facts as facts, and admitting them, we must say that the outlook for the relations between Japan and America can never be so optimistic as the pro-American or the pro-Japanese claim.





CHAPTER XVIII

ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR COR- DIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND AMERICA

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ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR CORDIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND AMERICA

How are the so-called pro-Japanese Americans viewing the present situation in the Japanese Empire? It is needless to say they are aware that the two parties—the military and the liberal—are opposing each other in Japan. If they would talk freely and without restraint, they would say there is now in Japan a struggle between the principles of American democracy and those of German or rather Prussian militarism; that if America officially interferes with Japan at this time and insults her people, such interference would rather help the military party and make it accomplish its object, and that, therefore, Japan should be treated with magnanimity for the time being; this would bring about her Americanization of her own accord.

The success of the anti-Japanese agitation in America will exert a powerful influence on the success of the mili-

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taristic program of Japan in East Asia. This plays directly into the hands of the most dangerous and unscrupulous elements in Japan. It gives Japanese militarism the most cogent arguments it could possibly have for promoting anti-American feeling in Japan and for justifying to their own people their past and their future policies of imperial aggression in Korea, Manchuria and China. ("The New Anti-Japanese Agitation," by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick.))

The foregoing statement should be regarded as a representative view of the most sincere pro-Japanese Americans. We should also listen to the opinion of Mr. Frank Vanderlip, ex-President of the National City Bank of New York, expressed after his recent visit to Japan with a party as representing the so-called pro-Japanese financial group in America:

In Japan, the military party still carries matters with high hand, but her people love peace. She will be democratized gradually, although I do not believe she will become a Republic. Probably, with the Imperial House as her center, Japan will bring about a change in the system of government which will be something similar to that of England. It is not absolutely impossible that the Chinese Republic may become like that of America, but we cannot put too much hope upon her. (See *San Francisco Examiner*.)

We cannot help being pleased with Mr. Vanderlip's keener insight, in contrast with the

utterances of those who, by looking simply at the external form of the Republican Government of China, ecstatically proclaim that she is Americanized, and that Japan will be more Americanized than China some day. It is a pity that his observations should still seem somewhat veiled and obscure. He further says:

There are now two parties in Japan—one imbued with the great democratic idea and the other of militaristic men. But, on account of the recent collapse of Germany and of the despatch of two million soldiers by America for the great war, both are endeavoring by every means to avoid trouble with America. Japan is eager in her hope to maintain friendly relations with America. (See the New York cable report, dated June 14th, 1920.)

It is a matter of general notoriety that, although there are two parties in Japan—those professing militaristic principles of the German School, and those professing the democratic principles of the American School—the former are losing ground and the latter are becoming stronger as a result of the object lessons furnished on the one hand by the failure of Germany, and on the other hand by America's unprecedented military achievement in raising a large army and sending it overseas. A member of Mr. Vander-

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lip's party, Mr. Schurman, President of Cornell University, said:

I believe that Japan will become one of the most democratic countries in the world within twenty years from now. The leading men of Japan are of the military party and have contributed to Japan's power, and it is no wonder that they possess influence over the people. But now there is a new liberal party consisting mainly of business men and University students. These men resent deeply the accusation that Japan is the Prussia of the Orient. There is a great strife between the old military clique and the newly-born liberal party. I have observed this as being the most interesting situation in Japan. (See the New York cable report, dated June 13th, 1920.)

Perhaps this opinion is not based on mature personal observation and reflects only what President Schurman heard from the so-called pro-American Japanese, because the manner of expression extremely resembles that of the blind advocates of everything American.

However that may be, the foregoing views cannot rise above the level of the general observations of the so-called pro-Japanese Americans. They also contend that Japan is being divided into two parties—one of the German militarist type, the other of the Anglo-Saxon

liberal type. We do not necessarily blame them, for, in our Empire, there are few who would boldly advocate what they call "Our Germany," or "Our England and America." And if either is confronted with a little trouble, the pro-American Japanese, whom people also call "the advocates of everything American," are prone to say that it is caused by the conduct of our military clique and that they themselves are not responsible for it. Ascribing all troubles to the so-called military clique, they take pride in being the loyal friends of America. This may be convenient to them, indeed, for the time being, but for the country at large there is no greater evil. If the Americans should be made to believe that fighting Japan is fighting the Japanese Military Clique and not the Japanese people, such a mentality might be conducive to the worst contingencies in the relations between America and Japan.

We presume there may be some Americans who, from their assumption that Japan will gradually be Americanized, do not wish to treat her too harshly. But, at the same time, we have to assume that there are not a few people in America who regard Japan as mentally sub-

servient to America. Generally more harm is done in matters of vital importance to a country by those who prefer to shut their eyes to facts, or who are weak and without backbone, and who temporarily varnish things over, than by those who are out and out knaves and rascals. We do not particularly brand our so-called Americomaniacs as traitors to their country. No, their real motives may rather be called patriotic, but when we consider how perfunctory compliments or subserviency will bring about results of far-reaching importance, we cannot help being gravely concerned.

In conclusion we desire to deliver the one and same message, clearly and emphatically to all Americans, whether the pro-Japanese or the anti-Japanese. That is, there are very few German admirers and there are some English and American admirers in Japan. The greater part of the Japanese people do not, however, make the principles of American democracy their ideals, no more than they do those of German militarism. Central influence in Japan belongs neither to the stubborn Militarists nor to the frivolous imitators of things English and American. It does

belong only to the Japanese people. Japanese people do not become Germanized or Americanized. They are striving to the utmost to maintain, display, and develop their own national characteristics.

For this reason, whatever country or people should happen to injure the interests, infringe upon the rights, or trample upon the dignity and honor of the Japanese Empire, making things intolerable to Japan, must bear in mind that their objective will be the Japanese people, and not the military clique of Japan. In Japan there is no Germany, no England, no America, but only Japan. And from the viewpoint of the Japanese, those so-called militarists or Americanized Japanese in Japan are of very little consequence.

The Japanese are by nature a peaceful nation. They do not fall short of endurance, when compared with that of any people in the world. And they have the moral courage to tread in the path of righteousness without fear. Unless America by any means should abuse and put to a severe test this moral courage of the Japanese people, the relations between Japan and America will be safe and peaceful. We do not expect much from

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the Americans. If they are really a Christian nation, we wish them only to recollect the precept of Christ—"Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you"—and apply it practically to the international dealings between Japan and America. This is the essence required for maintaining everlasting peace between the two countries.

And it seems to us that what Japan does wish America to do just at this time is nothing more than what Dr. Sidney Gulick called "treatment equal to that given to other races"—that is, the treatment ordinarily accorded to Turks, Syrians, Persians, Russian Tartars, Mexicans, Zulus, Hottentots, and Kaffirs. In short it is no more than the treatment commonly accorded to the human race in general. We know not whether the Americans will try to deny the people of Japan even this!

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

- I Extracts from the Treaty of Peace and Amity between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan, of March 31, 1854.
- II Extracts from the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan, of July 29, 1858.
- III Extracts from the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan, November 22, 1894.
- IV Notes exchanged between the United States and Japan, November 30, 1908, declaring their policy in the Far East.
- V Extracts from the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation and Protocol between the United States and Japan, of February 21, 1911.
- VI Formal notes exchanged between Secretary Lansing and Viscount Ishii, the special Japanese Ambassador, regarding the policy of the United States and Japan towards China.
- VII California's Alien Land Law, approved May 19, 1913.
- VIII California's Alien Land Law, adopted November 2, 1920.

IX About picture marriage:

- (a) Full description of picture marriage prepared by the California Farmers Coöperative Association (Japanese organization).
- (b) Correspondence explanatory of the Gentlemen's Agreement and the admission of "picture brides," by the United States Government.

X About the Japanese in California:

- (a) Extracts from the letter of W. Flanders Setchel to Frank L. Lathrop, State Board of Control, concerning Japanese labor.
- (b) Extracts from the letter of Westfall-Lane Company to Frank L. Lathrop, State Board of Control, concerning financial backing given to Japanese farmer.

XI Japanese immigration to the United States, compared with total alien immigration.**XII Japanese immigrants and non-immigrants.****XIII Japanese immigration to the United States:
Arrivals and departures.****XIV Comparative tables showing the density of population of the countries represented at the Arms Conference at Washington:**

Table A—Density of population.

Table B—Density of population (including possessions, colonies, and mandates).

I EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF PEACE
AND AMITY BETWEEN THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA AND THE EMPIRE
OF JAPAN, OF MARCH 31, 1854.

The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object the President of the United States has conferred full powers on his commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, special Ambassador of the United States to Japan, and the August Sovereign of Japan has given similar full powers to his commissioners, Hayashi Dai-gaku-no-kami, Ido, Prince of Tsushima, Izawa, Prince of Mimasaka, and Udono, member of the Board of Revenue, and the commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following Articles:

ARTICLE I

There shall be a perfect, permanent and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity, between the United States of America on the one part and the Empire of Japan on the other part, and between their peoples respectively, without exception of persons or places.

ARTICLE II

The port of Simoda in the Principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodate in the Principality of Matsumai, are granted by the Japanese Government as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. . . .

ARTICLE VII

It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin and articles of goods for other articles of goods, under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese Government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they are unwilling to exchange.

ARTICLE IX

It is agreed, that if at any future day the Government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof, without any consultation or delay.

II EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF COM-
MERCE AND NAVIGATION BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND THE EM-
PIRE OF JAPAN, OF JULY 29, 1858.

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the Taikun of Japan, desiring to establish on firm and lasting foundations the relations of peace and friendship now happily existing between the two countries, and to secure the best interests of their respective citizens and subjects by encouraging, facilitating, and regulating their industry and trade, have resolved to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce for this purpose, and have therefore named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say—

The President of the United States, His Excellency Townsend Harris, Consul General of the United States of America for the Empire of Japan, and His Majesty the Taikun of Japan, their Excellencies Inouye, Prince of Sinano, and Iwase, Prince of Hyogo:

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:

ARTICLE I

There shall henceforward be perpetual peace and friendship between the United States of America and His Majesty the Taikun of Japan and his Successors.

The President of the United States may appoint a Diplomatic Agent to reside at the City of Yedo, and Consuls or Consular Agents to reside at any or all of the ports in Japan which are opened for American commerce by this treaty. The Diplomatic Agent and Consul General of the United States shall have the right to travel freely in any part of the Empire. . . .

The Government of Japan may appoint a Diplomatic Agent to reside at Washington, Consuls or Consular Agents for any or all of the ports of the United States. The Diplomatic Agent and

ARTICLE II

The President of the United States, at the request of the Japanese Government, will act as a friendly mediator in such matters of difference as may arise between the Government of Japan and any European Power.

The ships of war of the United States shall render friendly aid and assistance to such Japanese vessels as they may meet on the high seas, so far as can be done without a breach of neutrality; and all American Consuls residing at ports visited by Japanese vessels shall also give them such friendly aid as may be permitted by the laws of the respective countries in which they reside.

ARTICLE III

In addition to the ports of Simoda and Hakodate, the following ports and towns shall be opened:

Kanagawa,; Nagasaki,; Niigata,; Hyogo,

ARTICLE V

All foreign coin shall be current in Japan and pass for its corresponding weight of Japanese coin of the same description. . . . Coins of all description (with the exception of Japanese copper coin) may be exported from Japan, and foreign gold and silver uncoined.

ARTICLE VI

Americans committing offences against Japanese shall be tried in American consular courts, and when guilty shall be punished according to American law. Japanese committing offences against Americans shall be tried by the Japanese authorities and punished according to Japanese law. . . .

REGULATIONS UNDER WHICH AMERICAN TRADE IS TO BE CONDUCTED IN JAPAN

REGULATION SEVENTH

Duties shall be paid to the Japanese Government on all goods landed in the country, according to the following tariff:

Class one—All articles in this class shall be free of duty. Gold and silver, coined or uncoined. Wearing apparel in actual use. Household furniture and printed books not intended for sale.

Class two—A duty of (5) five per cent. shall be paid on the following articles:

All articles used for the purpose of building, repairing . . . ships . . . ; coals; timber; rice; steam machinery . . .

Class three—A duty of (35) thirty-five per cent. on all intoxicating liquors. . . .

Class four—All goods not included in any of the preceding classes shall pay a duty of (20) twenty per cent.

All articles of Japanese production which are exported as cargo shall pay a duty of (5) five per cent., with the exception of gold and silver coin and copper in bars. (5) five years after the opening of Kanagawa the import and export duties shall be subject to revision, if the Japanese Government desires it.

III EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF
COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION BE-
TWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED
STATE OF AMERICA, OF NOVEMBER
22, 1894.

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and the President of the United States of America being equally desirous of maintaining the relations of good understanding which happily exist between them, by extending and increasing the intercourse between their respective States and being

convinced that this object cannot better be accomplished than by revising the Treaties hitherto existing between the two countries, have resolved to complete such revision, based upon principles of equity and mutual benefit, and, for that purpose, have named as their Plenipotentiaries, ; who, , have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:

ARTICLE I

The subjects or citizens of each of the two High Contracting Parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel or reside in any part of the territories of the other Contracting Party and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for their persons and property.

In whatever relates to rights of residence and travel; to the possession of goods and effects of any kind; to the succession to personal estate by will or otherwise, and the disposal of any sort and in any manner whatsoever, which they may lawfully acquire, the subjects or citizens of each Contracting Party shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same privileges, liberties and rights, and shall be subject to no higher imposts or charges in those respects than native subjects or citizens, or subjects or citizens of the most favored nation. . . .

ARTICLE II

There shall be reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation between the territories of the two High Contracting Parties.

The subjects or citizens of each of the Contracting Parties may trade in any part of the territories of the other by wholesale or retail in all kinds of produce, manufactures and merchandise of lawful commerce, either in person or by agents, singly or in partnerships with foreigners or native subjects or citizens; and they may there own or hire and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and premises which may be necessary for them, and lease land for residential and commercial purposes, conforming themselves to the laws, police and customs regulations of the country like native subjects or citizens.

ARTICLE XIV

The High Contracting Parties agree that, in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor or immunity which either High Contracting Party has actually granted, or may hereafter grant, to the government, ships, citizens or subjects of any other State shall be extended to the government, ships, citizens or subjects of the other High Contracting Party, gratuitously, if the concession in favor of that other State shall have been gratuitous, and on the same or equivalent conditions if the concession shall have been conditional; it being their intention that the trade and navigation of each country shall be placed, in all respects, by the other upon the footing of the most favored nation.

IV NOTES EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, NOVEM-
BER 30, 1908, DECLARING THEIR POL-
ICY IN THE FAR EAST.

Imperial Japanese Embassy,
Washington, November 30, 1908.

Sir:

The exchange of views between us, which has taken place at the several interviews which I have recently had the honor of holding with you, has shown that Japan and the United States holding important outlying insular possessions in the region of the Pacific Ocean, the Governments of the two countries are animated by a common aim, policy, and intention in that region.

Believing that a frank avowal of that aim, policy, and intention would not only tend to strengthen the relations of friendship and good neighborhood, which have immemorially existed between Japan and the United States, but would materially contribute to the preservation of the general peace, the Imperial Government have authorized me to present to you an outline of their understanding of that common aim, policy, and intention:

1 It is the wish of the two Governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean.

2 The policy of both Governments, uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies, is directed to the maintenance

of the existing status quo in the region above mentioned and to the defence of the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

3 They are accordingly firmly resolved reciprocally to respect the territorial possessions belonging to each other in said region.

4 They are also determined to preserve the common interest of all powers in China by supporting by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire.

5 Should any event occur threatening the status quo as above described or the principle of equal opportunity as above defined, it remains for the two Governments to communicate with each other in order to arrive at an understanding as to what measures they may consider it useful to take.

If the foregoing outline accords with the views of the Government of the United States, I shall be gratified to receive your confirmation.

I take this opportunity to renew to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

K. TAKAHIRA.

Honorable Elihu Root,
Secretary of State.

REPLY OF SECRETARY OF STATE ROOT TO JAPANESE
AMBASSADOR TAKAHIRA

Department of State,
Washington, November 30, 1908.

Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of to-day setting forth the result of the exchange of views between us in our recent interviews defining the understanding of the two Governments in regard to their policy in the region of the Pacific Ocean.

It is a pleasure to inform you that this expression of mutual understanding is welcome to the Government of the United States as appropriate to the happy relations of the two countries and as the occasion for a concise mutual affirmation of that accordant policy respecting the Far East which the two Governments have so frequently declared in the past.

I am happy to be able to confirm to your Excellency, on behalf of the United States, the declaration of the two Governments embodied in the follows words:

(See above.)

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

ELIHU ROOT.

His Excellency
Baron Kogoro Takahira,
Japanese Ambassador.

**V EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF COM-
MERCE AND NAVIGATION AND PRO-
TOCOL BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, OF FEB-
RUARY 21, 1911.**

His majesty, the Emperor of Japan, and the President of the United States of America, being desirous to strengthen the relations of amity and good understanding which happily exist between the two nations, and believing that the fixation in a manner clear and positive of the rules which are hereafter to govern the commercial intercourse between their respective countries will contribute to the realization of this most desirable result, have resolved to conclude a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation for that purpose, and to that end named their Plenipotentiaries, ; who, , have agreed upon the following Articles:

ARTICLE I

The subjects or citizens of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the territories of the other, to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade, upon the same terms as native

subjects or citizens, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established.

They shall not be compelled, under any pretext whatever, to pay any charges or taxes other or higher than those that are or may be paid by native subjects or citizens.

The subjects or citizens of each of the High Contracting Parties shall receive, in the territories of the other, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to native subjects or citizens, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the native subjects and citizens.

ARTICLE II

The dwellings, warehouses, manufactories, and shops of the subjects or citizens of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territories of the other, and all premises appertaining thereto used for purposes of residence or commerce, shall be respected. . . .

ARTICLE IV

There shall be between the territories of the two High Contracting Parties reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation. The subjects or citizens of each of the Contracting Parties, equally with the subjects or citizens of the most favored nation shall have liberty freely to come with their ships and cargoes to all places, ports, and rivers

in the territories of the other which are or may be opened to foreign commerce, subject always to the laws of the country to which they thus come.

ARTICLE XIV

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree that, in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor or immunity which either Contracting Party has actually granted, or may hereafter grant, to the subjects or citizens of any other State shall be extended to the subjects or citizens of the other Contracting Party gratuitously, if the concession in favor of that other State shall have been gratuitous, and on the same or equivalent conditions, if the concession shall have been conditional.

DECLARATION

In proceeding this day to the signature of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation . . . the undersigned has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the immigration of laborers to the United States.

(Signed) Y. UCHIDA.

February 21, 1911.

VI FORMAL NOTES EXCHANGED BETWEEN
SECRETARY LANSING AND VISCOUNT
ISHII, THE SPECIAL JAPANESE AMBAS-
SADOR, REGARDING THE POLICY OF
THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN
TOWARDS CHINA.

Department of State, Washington,
November 2, 1917.

Excellency:

I have the honor to communicate herein my understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our Governments relating to the Republic of China.

In order to silence mischievous reports that have from time to time been circulated, it is believed by us that a public announcement once more of the desires and intentions shared by our two Governments with regard to China is advisable.

The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurances of

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the Imperial Japanese Government that while geographical position gives Japan such special interests, they have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other powers.

The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China, and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called "open door," or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

Moreover, they mutually declare that they are opposed to acquisition by any Government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China.

I shall be glad to have your Excellency confirm this understanding of the agreement reached by us.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

His Excellency Viscount Kikujiro Ishii,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of
Japan on Special Mission.

REPLY OF SPECIAL AMBASSADOR VISCOUNT ISHII TO
SECRETARY LANSING

Washington, November 2, 1917.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of to-day, communicating to me your understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our governments relating to the Republic of China.

I am happy to be able to confirm to you, under authorization of my government, the understanding in question set forth in the following terms [See above]:

I take this opportunity to convey to you, sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) K. ISHII,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of Japan on Special Mission.

Hon. Robert Lansing,
Secretary of State.

VII CALIFORNIA'S ALIEN LAND LAW

(Approved May 19, 1913)

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

Section 1.—All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit, and inherit real property, or any interest therein,

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in this State, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this State.

Section 2.—All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy, and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this State for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

Section 3.—Any company, association, or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other State or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy, and convey real property, or any interest therein in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such member or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this State for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

Section 4.—Whenever it appears to the court in any probate proceeding that by reason of the provisions of this

act any heir or devisee cannot take real property in this State which, but for said provisions, said heir or devisee would take as such, the court, instead of ordering a distribution of such real property to such heir or devisee, shall order a sale of said real property to be made in the manner provided by law for probate sales of real property, and the proceeds of such sale shall be distributed to such heirs or devisee in lieu of such real property.

Section 5.—Any real property hereafter acquired in fee in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to, and become and remain the property of the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section 474 of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the State of California. The provisions of this section and of sections two and three of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon, or interest in such property, so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of the alien, company, association or corporation acquiring the same in such manner.

Section 6.—Any leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee, hereafter acquired in violation of

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the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have such escheat adjudged and enforced as provided in section five of this act. In such proceedings the court shall determine and adjudge the value of such leasehold, or other interest in such real property, and enter judgment for the State for the amount thereof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order a sale of the real property covered by such leasehold, or other interest, in the manner provided by section 1271 of the Code of Civil Procedure. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale, the amount of the judgment rendered for the State shall be paid into the State Treasury and the balance shall be deposited with and distributed by the court in accordance with the interest of the parties therein.

Section 7.—Nothing in this act shall be construed as a limitation upon the power of the State to enact laws with respect to the acquisition, holding or disposal by aliens of real property in this State.

Section 8.—All acts and parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

VIII ALIEN LAND LAW

(Adopted November 2, 1920)

PROPERTY RIGHTS AND DISABILITIES OF ALIENS IN
CALIFORNIA

Alien Land Law. Initiative Act. Permits Acquisition and Transfer of Real Property by Aliens Eligible to Citizenship, to Same Extent as Citizens Except as Otherwise Provided by Law; Permits Other Aliens, and Companies, Associations, and Corporations in Which They Hold Majority Interest, to Acquire and Transfer Real Property Only as Prescribed by Treaty, but Prohibiting Appointment Thereof as Guardians of Estates of Minors Consisting Wholly or Partially of Real Property or Shares in Such Corporations; Provides for Escheats in Certain Cases; Requires Reports of Property Holdings to Facilitate Enforcement of Act; Prescribes Penalties and Repeals Conflicting Acts. An act relating to the rights, powers, and disabilities of aliens and of certain companies, associations, and corporations with respect to property in this State, providing for escheats in certain cases; prescribing the procedure therein, requiring reports of certain property holdings to facilitate the enforcement of this act, prescribing penalties for violation of the provisions hereof, and repealing all acts or parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict herewith.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1

All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit, and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this State.

SECTION 2

All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy, and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purpose prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

SECTION 3

Any company, association or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other State or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy, and convey real prop-

erty, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such members or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise. Hereafter all aliens other than those specified in section one hereof may become members of or acquire shares of stock in any company, association or corporation that is or may be authorized to acquire, possess, enjoy or convey agricultural land, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

SECTION 4

Hereafter no alien mentioned in section two hereof and no company, association or corporation mentioned in section three hereof, may be appointed guardian of that portion of the estate of a minor which consists of property which such alien or such company, association or corporation is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying, or transferring by reason of the provisions of this act. The public administrator of the proper county, or any other competent person or corporation, may be appointed guardian of the estate of a minor citizen whose parents are ineligible to appointment under the provisions of this section.

On such notice to the guardian as the court may require, the superior court may remove the guardian of such an estate whenever it appears to the satisfaction of the court:

- (a) That the guardian has failed to file the report required by the provisions of section five hereof; or
- (b) That the property of the ward has not been or is not being administered with due regard to the primary interest of the ward; or
- (c) That facts exist which would make the guardian ineligible to appointment in the first instance; or
- (d) That facts establishing any other legal ground for removal exist.

SECTION 5

(a) The term "trustee" as used in this section means any person, company, association or corporation that as guardian, trustee, attorney-in-fact or agent, or in any other capacity has the title, custody or control of property, or some interest therein, belonging to an alien mentioned in section two hereof, or to the minor child of such an alien, if the property is of such a character that such alien is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying or transferring it.

(b) Annually on or before the thirty-first day of January every such trustee must file in the office of the Secretary of State of California and in the office of the

county clerk of each county in which any of the property is situated, a verified written report showing:

- (1) The property, real or personal, held by him for or on behalf of such an alien minor;
- (2) A statement showing the date when each item of such property came into his possession or control;
- (3) An itemized account of all expenditures, investments, rents, issues, and profits in respect to the administration and control of such property with particular reference to holdings of corporate stock and leases, cropping contracts, and other agreements in respect to land and the handling or sale of products thereof.

(c) Any person, company, association or corporation that violates any provision of this section is guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding one thousand dollars or by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

(d) The provisions of this section are cumulative and are not intended to change the jurisdiction or the rules of practice of courts of justice.

SECTION 6

Whenever it appears to the court in any probate proceeding that by reason of the provisions of this act any heir or devisee cannot take real property in this State or membership or shares of stock in a company, association

or corporation which, but for said provisions, said heir or devisee would take as such, the court, instead of ordering a distribution of such property to such heir or devisee, shall order a sale of said property to be made in the manner provided by law for probate sales of property and the proceeds of such sale shall be distributed to such heir or devisee in lieu of such property.

SECTION 7

Any real property hereafter acquired in fee in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to, and become and remain the property of the State of California. The attorney general or district attorney of the proper county shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section four hundred seventy-four of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the State of California. The provisions of this section and of sections two and three of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon, or interest in such property, so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of the alien, company, association or corporation acquir-

ing the same in such manner. No alien, company, association or corporation mentioned in section two or section three hereof shall hold for a longer period than two years the possession of any agricultural land acquired in the enforcement of or in satisfaction of a mortgage or other lien hereafter made or acquired in good faith to secure a debt.

SECTION 8

Any leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee, hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to the State of California. The attorney general or district attorney of the proper county shall institute proceedings to have such escheat adjudged and enforced as provided in section seven of this act. In such proceedings the court shall determine and adjudge the value of such leasehold or other interest in such real property, and enter judgment for the State for the amount thereof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order a sale of the real property covered by such leasehold, or other interest, in the manner provided by section twelve hundred seventy-one of the Code of Civil Procedure. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale, the amount of the judgment rendered for the State shall be paid into the state treasury and the balance shall be deposited with and distributed by the court in accordance with the interest of the parties

therein. Any share of stock or the interest of any member in the company, association or corporation hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of section three of this act shall escheat to the State of California. Such escheat shall be adjudged and enforced in the same manner as provided in this section for the escheat of a leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee.

SECTION 9

Every transfer of real property, or of any interest therein, though colorable in form, shall be void as to the state and the interest thereby conveyed or sought to be conveyed shall escheat to the State if the property interest involved is of such a character that an alien mentioned in section two hereof is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying or transferring it, and if the conveyance is made with intent to prevent, evade or avoid escheat as provided for herein.

A *prima facie* presumption that the conveyance is made with such intent shall arise upon proof of any of the following groups of facts:

(a) The taking of the property in the name of a person other than the persons mentioned in section two hereof if the consideration is paid or agreed or understood to be paid by an alien mentioned in section two hereof.

(b) The taking of the property in the name of a company, association or corporation, if the membership or shares of stock therein held by aliens mentioned in

section two hereof, together with the memberships or shares of stock held by others but paid for or agreed or understood to be paid for by such aliens, would amount to a majority of the membership or the issued capital stock of such company, association or corporation;

(c) The execution of a mortgage in favor of an alien mentioned in section two hereof if said mortgagee is given possession, control or management of the property.

The enumeration in this section of certain presumptions shall not be so construed as to preclude other presumptions or inferences that reasonably may be made as to the existence of intent to prevent, evade or avoid escheat as provided for herein.

SECTION 10

If two or more persons conspire to effect a transfer of real property, or of an interest therein, in violation of the provisions hereof, they are punishable by imprisonment in the county jail or a State penitentiary not exceeding two years, or by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or both.

SECTION 11

Nothing in this act shall be construed as a limitation upon the power of the State to enact laws with respect to the acquisition, holding or disposal by aliens of real property in this State.

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SECTION 12

All acts and parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict with the provisions hereof are hereby repealed; *provided*, that—

- (a) This act shall not affect pending actions or proceedings, but the same may be prosecuted and defended with the same effect as if this act had not been adopted;
- (b) No cause of action arising under any law of this State shall be affected by reason of the adoption of this act whether an action or proceeding has been instituted thereon at the time of the taking effect of this act or not and actions may be brought upon such causes in the same manner, under the same terms and conditions, and with the same effect as if this act had not been adopted.
- (c) This act in so far as it does not add to, take from or alter an existing law, shall be construed as a continuation thereof.

SECTION 13

The legislature may amend this act in furtherance of its purpose and facilitate its operation.

SECTION 14

If any section, subsection, sentence, clause or phrase of this act is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining

portions of this act. The people hereby declare that they would have passed this act, and each section, subsection, sentence, clause and phrase thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more other sections, subsections, sentences, clauses or phrases be declared unconstitutional.

IX ABOUT PICTURE MARRIAGE

(a) Full Description of Picture Marriage Prepared by California Farmers Coöperative Association (Japanese Organization).

When a man (Japanese) living in America desires to marry, but is prevented by various reasons from going home, he writes to his parents, asking them to find a suitable woman for his bride. The parents, following the usual customs and rules, fix on an eligible person. Then they intimate to the girl's parents that they are desirous of securing her marriage to their son in America. The parents on either side spare no pains in inquiring into the character, social standing, family relations, genealogy, health and education of the young man and woman. If this investigation proves satisfactory, both to the parents and the prospective groom and bride, the man in America sends his photograph to the woman, and receives her photograph in exchange. This "interview" through photographs proving satisfactory to both parties, the nuptial knot is tied at a ceremonial dinner in which the groom, living in America, is naturally absent, but which is attended by the bride and the parents and rela-

tives of both sides. This done, the parents register the marriage with the proper authorities. This marriage has been regarded as valid both by the Japanese and the American Government. In many cases exchange of photographs is not required, because it frequently happens that the prospective groom and bride were born in the same town or village and have known each other since childhood.

If we look at it in the above light, there is nothing objectionable in the practice of "picture marriage," which, we repeat, is a gross misnomer. It is, therefore, but natural that the American Government should regard this marriage practice, as it has regarded it, as legal and valid.

But in view of severe criticisms directed against this practice the Japanese Government announced on December 17, 1919, that it would stop issuing passports after February 25, 1920. Commenting on this announcement Mr. T. Ohta, the Japanese Consul General in San Francisco, issued this statement:

This means that about the twenty-fifth of January next, the Japanese consulates in America will cease to receive applications for certificates necessary to secure passports for such women, because it takes about a month for the applications to reach the proper authorities in Japan. Therefore, if any Japanese in continental United States wishes to send for his wife to whom he has been married by the procedure commonly and somewhat erroneously called "picture marriage," his application for endorsement must be in the hands of a Japanese consulate

at the end of January at the latest. That means that there is only an interval of a month or so in which the Japanese consulates can accept such applications.

This interval, brief as it is, is provided with a view to avoiding inevitable embarrassment which a sudden prohibition of "picture marriage" would cause to those Japanese men and women who have been making preparations for marriages. It would be unjust to stop the practice all of a sudden and without warning.

This announcement on the part of the Japanese government is another proof that it is earnestly solicitous of maintaining and promoting friendly relations with the United States and especially the people of California. For the sake of amicable relations between our two countries and peoples, Japan is always willing and ready to meet America half way.

For my own part I have all along maintained that any and all problems pending or arising between Japan and America can be, and ought to be, settled by friendly exchange of views. The settlement of the "picture bride" question is ample proof that between our two governments there is perfect understanding and friendly feeling.

(b) Correspondence Explanatory of the Gentlemen's Agreement and the Admission of "Picture Brides," by the United States Government.

Hon. James D. Phelan,
United States Senate.

Sir: Adverting to your letter of July 24, relative to

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the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" between this Government and the Government of Japan for regulating the immigration of Japanese to the United States, I have the honor to say that, after giving due consideration to certain facts and figures recently obtained from the honorable the Secretary of Labor, I have confirmed the opinion which I have held for some time on this subject; that is, that the present arrangement is working with a fair degree of satisfaction, with the possible exception of the immigration of so-called Japanese "picture brides" to the United States.

It might not be amiss briefly to review some of the salient facts bearing on this particular phase of Japanese immigration and on the general operation of the present agreement.

The understanding under which Japanese immigration to the United States is regulated has been in force since 1908. Its principal stipulation is that the Japanese Government will issue "no passport, good for the American mainland, to either skilled or unskilled Japanese laborers, except to those who have previously resided in the United States, or the parents, wives, or children of Japanese residents." From 1908 to May 5, 1917, the date on which the present immigration act went into effect, the class of aliens known as wives of Japanese domiciled in the United States were admitted to the United States only after the performance, at the port of entry, of a marriage ceremony in accordance with the laws of this country, if the applicants were otherwise admissible under the general

terms of the immigration law then in force, and if they presented passports issued by the Japanese Government under the agreement above mentioned. The practice did not work satisfactorily, although for the time being it appeared to be the only solution of a delicate phase of the Japanese immigration question.

When the present immigration act containing the illiteracy clause was passed it became necessary to definitely fix the legal status of so-called "picture bride" marriages, as a percentage of the Japanese women of this class who applied for admission had been found to be illiterate. This matter was, therefore, made the subject of correspondence between the Department of State and the Japanese Ambassador at Washington in the spring of 1917. The legal status of Japanese marriages was defined by the Japanese Ambassador (Mr. Sato) in a note dated April 28, 1917, to the department, as follows:

"I beg to state that in the law of Japan it is provided that marriage is complete and takes effect immediately upon its being notified either in writing or orally to the registrar by both parties with the participation in the act of at least two witnesses of full age and its being accepted by him; that if a document is employed for such notification it must be personally signed and sealed by the parties and the witnesses; but it is not necessary that the parties personally appear before the registrar; that if the notification is made orally both the parties and their witnesses must personally appear before the registrar.

"There is no provision in the Japanese law specifically

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for a case where one of the parties to a marriage contract lives in Japan and the other under foreign jurisdiction, nor has there appeared before the court any case involving this point, for the reason that the places of actual residence of the parties concerned form no essential requirement for a marriage to be legalized. Such being the essence of the formal marriage in Japan, a Japanese man residing in this country can marry a Japanese woman residing in Japan by personally signing and affixing his seal to the document to be presented before the registrar in Japan, and the validity of such marriage is amply attested by the issuance of certified copy of the family registry bearing the official seal of the registrar, which document the so-called 'picture bride' proceeding to this country is always provided with."

After this assurance of the Japanese Government the honorable the Secretary of Labor promulgated the following administrative rule, which is still in force, to cover such cases:

"That the validity of these marriages be recognized, unless or until it is definitely shown that they are not legal marriages under the laws of Japan, or until it satisfactorily appears that the residence in the United States of one of the parties brings the consummation of the marriage ceremony within the jurisdiction of our laws; that proof of such marriages be required, not only by a certified record of the registrar but also by a certified copy of the notification of marriage made out by the party to the same

living in the United States; and that marriages at our ports be prohibited."

Commenting on this rule and on the Japanese marriage law, the Secretary of Labor has this to say:

"In the administration of the rule just cited, such passports, so long as the agreement is in force, are accepted, unless fraud or mistake in their issuance shall be made to appear.

"This department deems it not inappropriate to invite attention to the fact that according to information claimed as authentic, Japan is not the only country whose laws permit the contraction of marriages while one of the contracting parties is in a foreign jurisdiction. Spain and Portugal, it is alleged, allow the marriage of a resident of one of those countries with a resident then in a foreign country, by permitting representation of the absentee by an attorney in fact, appointed by power of attorney. There may be other nations that have like systems, differing in detail, perhaps, from the system claimed to exist in Spain and Portugal, or from the Japanese method, but agreeing in effect."

With regard to the number of Japanese immigrants admitted to the mainland and Hawaii prior to and since the agreement it is interesting to note that during the 10 years immediately preceding the agreement, 142,656 Japanese were admitted and for the 11 years immediately following the agreement, 80,532 were admitted. In the year 1907, immediately preceding the coming into force of the agreement 30,824 Japanese aliens of all classes were

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admitted. It seems quite clear, therefore, that the agreement has had a decided restrictive influence.

A striking feature of the sex distribution of Japanese immigrants under the operation of the agreement is to be noted. Prior to the agreement Japanese immigration was largely a movement of males, 85.7 per cent of the number admitted being of that sex, but during the 11 years since the agreement only 41.5 per cent of those admitted were males. Commenting on this phase of the matter the honorable the Secretary of Labor has the following to say:

"While this change is mainly due to the fact that under the agreement the immigration of males has been restricted without a corresponding reduction among females, it is undoubtedly true that the result has been more or less affected by a natural law of immigration. It is well known that under this natural law (under normal operation) every new immigration movement includes a preponderance of men, and that as immigration from a country becomes more normal or settled, the women follow in increasing numbers.

"In the case of women coming from Japan this natural law has been stimulated, no doubt, by the method of marriage hereinabove discussed, but to what extent this has been done must be left to conjecture. No doubt under such a system women would come in greater ratio than would be the case where both parties to a marriage are required to be present at its celebration.

"At the same time it is obviously difficult to attempt to estimate to what extent this may be true; the difficulty

arising mainly from the difference in marriage customs, as under other conditions, no doubt, the natural law above indicated would apply to Japanese in the same way that it has in almost every movement of peoples from one nation to another. And it must also be remembered that under the agreement practically no bar is put in the way of women coming to join their husbands here."

The number of Japanese wives coming to the United States is undoubtedly increasing but the authorities who have in charge the administration of the immigration laws have not found that the Japanese government is violating the agreement.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS,
Acting Secretary of State.

X ABOUT THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

(a) Extracts from the Letter of W. Flanders Setchel to Frank L. Lathrop, State Board of Control, Concerning Japanese Labor.

W. FLANDERS SETCHEL

Fresno, California,
April 6, 1920.

Mr. Frank L. Lathrop,
Farm Expert, State Board of Control,
Sacramento, California.

Dear Mr. Lathrop: Answering your recent inquiry as to my experience as President of the Valley Fruit

Growers' Association of Fresno in the handling of the farm labor problems of the Raisin District, and its bearing upon the Japanese land question now being agitated so considerably.

Ten years ago the California farmer had no labor difficulties so far as quantity of available labor was concerned. This labor consisted very largely of Japanese, Chinese and hoboes. The Japanese laborer was plentiful in numbers, as was the American hobo. The Chinese, whilst fairly numerous, were available in lessening numbers. To-day, legislative exclusion has reduced the Chinese coolie to an almost disappearing quantity, whilst opportunity has served to transform the able and hard-working Japanese farm laborers into prosperous farmers.

It is my conviction that the Japanese land question of to-day has arisen out of the disappearance from California farms of Asiatic coolie labor and is, consequently, closely linked with the present agitation in favor of an importation of indentured Chinese farm laborers. Whilst desirous of avoiding any expression of opinion as to the advisability or otherwise of permitting Japanese to further acquire ownership of lands in this state, it must be conceded by all that wherever Japanese have succeeded in acquiring ownership of land they have proved themselves industrious and efficient farmers, and I have personal knowledge of numerous instances where they are regarded as entirely satisfactory and acceptable neighbors by Amerian farmers living on adjacent properties.

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In conclusion, it seems to me that the method employed by some of those agitating for further restriction of Japanese land occupation are such as are liable to produce incidents of international significance and of highly deplorable effect. The issue is above all one for calm and dispassionate consideration, but some phases of the agitation savor strongly of deliberate incitement of racial prejudice and even of mob violence, and are in the highest degree regrettable.

Yours very truly,

W. FLANDERS SETCHEL.

(b) Extracts from the Letter of Westfall-Lane Company to Frank L. Lathrop, State Board of Control, Concerning Financial Backing Given to Japanese Farmer.

WESTFALL-LANE COMPANY

Turlock, California,
March 11, 1920.

State Board of Control,
Sacramento, California.

(Attention F. L. Lathrop)

Dear Sir: Replying to yours of the 27th ult.

I am glad to report on the Japanese situation pertaining to the agriculture and finance activities of the Japanese.

There are 3500 acres of land leased by Japanese in this Turlock Irrigation District. This would mean that some of these people are in Merced County, with a large

portion in Stanislaus County, but all are tributary to either Turlock, Keys, Hughson, or Denair, as shipping points.

The principal line of agriculture that they follow is cantaloupes and this 3500 acres is cantaloupe land leased for the purpose of growing cantaloupes. The majority of the land, possibly 80 per cent of it, is leased on the basis of \$50 per acre, cash rent, 10 per cent at about \$60 per acre and 10 per cent at from \$25 to \$50 per acre. The Japanese method of leasing land and financing his land is along these lines:

They lease the land on a payment of one-third to one-half cash and the majority of the leases provide for the balance to be paid about September first. A few of the leases provide for an intermediate payment in the latter part of July or the first part of August. There are a few leases that demand all cash payment.

The Jap then goes to the shipper and asks to be financed to the extent of covering his intial payment on the lease. Sometimes he provides in his agreement with the shipper at the time of entering into the agreement, that he will need money to plow his land and grow the crop. Sometimes he waits until after the shipper has put some money into the deal and then demands or asks for advances to care for crop. In this last instance it behooves the shipper to put more money into the deal to protect the first or initial investment.

The Westfall-Lane Company practice this method of

financing the Japanese, as well as other shipping organizations, but in doing so they have demanded securities by chattel mortgages on stock, implements and crops. Some of the other companies practice the same method whenever they can get the security.

There are two or three farmers' organizations that do not make these advances, as the finances at hand will not permit it.

The next financial aid given the Japanese is that the shipper gives him credit for his shook, nails and labels and advances 35 cents to 40 cents per crate—cost of picking and packing.

By tabulating these amounts and compiling them you will arrive at the conclusion that the shipper is financing these growers and taking all chances of loss, with a fixed charge of gross profits. These gross profits represent 15 per cent of the growers' sales, plus a 1 cent per crate charge for shipping fees.

If the proceeds from the sales (after all of these advances are refunded) is sufficient, a profit will be shown the grower. If the net returns from the sales are not sufficiently large, then the shipper must either fall back upon his securities covered by chattel mortgages and if adequate will not suffer a loss, but if not, of course, will suffer a loss. This loss, if any, may be made up by another venture the following year and when such losses have occurred in the past this has been the custom, but in view of the fact of the widespread anti-Jap propa-

ganda, I do not believe there will be renewals of the venture.

From an agriculture standpoint, it is necessary for us to keep a man in the field to see that these Japanese farm their land right. This may seem to you a strange statement, considering that it is generally assumed that the Japs are such wonderful farmers. They are not wonderful farmers, but are hard workers and the success that they have made, in my estimation, is principally charged up or credited to persistent plugging and consistent attention to their lands.

The Japanese are coöperative. They usually practice this coöperativeness in what we term at this time as a "clan." These clans are made up from five to twenty people.

These clans pool their interest. For example: If one man loses, the others help him out; they go so far as endorsing each other's note for advances made or for leases to be paid.

During the attention I have given to these people, I find that these clans are transported clans from Japan. That is to say, Japanese living and operating in provinces in Japan clique together in the United States and coöperate in their agriculture venture. They go so far, as the leader of a clan or his heirs in Japan, inherit the same rights when their members are transported to this country.

This is usually what "he" means when he refers to "my friend." When a Jap succeeds in a venture, he

stakes his friend to lease a piece of property and he becomes the next unit to their coöperative system. This friend is picked from the working class, that is, a laboring man. He has worked with him in the cantaloupe field or has had some agricultural experience. They also coöperate in helping one another to plow and to do all kinds of agricultural work. Especially is this true if one of their number is behind with his work.

All of this sounds very lovable and brotherly, but these people have their difficulties. If a Jap attempts to lease more land than he is able to handle, he is notified by them to cut some of the land out of his holdings and get down to a basis where he can handle it economically. If he neglects his land, jeopardizing the financial responsibilities of the others, he is corrected, but, "let me say at this time" very diplomatically. If he does not take care of his land the others go in on the property, combining their efforts to get the land up to the proper condition as speedily as possible.

There is a cantaloupe organization here, called the California Cantaloupe Company. This is a Japanese organization. There are two or three companies formed this year, but at the present time have not a large acreage. These organizations are for the purpose of selling produce. The organizations formed this year were not organized until after the strong Japanese agitation started.

The Japanese agitation that we have in this community seems primarily to be among the business men, and from

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information at hand it would seem that quite a few of the land owners are not in sympathy with the movement.

If there is any further information that you would like on this subject, and if it is within my keeping, upon request I would be glad to give it to you. I have only covered this subject roughly, touching upon points rather than to exhaust the subject.

Yours very truly,

D. F. LANE.

**XI JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO THE
UNITED STATES, COMPARED WITH
TOTAL ALIEN IMMIGRATION**

Year	Total Alien Immigration	Japanese Immigration	Percentage of Japanese Immigrants Against Total Immigration
1891.....	560,319	1,136	0.2
1892.....	579,663	1,498	0.2
1893.....	439,730	1,380	0.3
1894.....	285,631	1,931	0.6
1895.....	258,536	1,150	0.4
1896.....	343,267	1,110	0.3
1897.....	230,832	1,526	0.6
1898.....	229,299	2,230	0.9
1899.....	311,715	2,844	0.9
1900.....	448,572	12,635	2.8
1901.....	487,918	5,269	1.0
1902.....	648,743	14,270	2.1
1903.....	857,046	19,968	2.3
1904.....	812,870	14,264	1.7
1905.....	1,026,499	10,331	1.0
1906.....	1,100,735	13,835	1.2
1907.....	1,285,349	30,226	2.3
1908.....	782,870	5,803	0.7
1909.....	751,786	3,111	0.4
1910.....	1,041,570	2,720	0.2
1911.....	878,587	4,520	0.5
1912.....	838,172	6,136	0.7
1913.....	1,197,892	8,281	0.7
1914.....	1,218,480	8,929	0.7
1915.....	326,700	8,613	2.6
1916.....	298,826	8,680	2.9
1917.....	295,403	8,991	3.0
1918.....	110,618	10,213	9.1
1919.....	141,132	10,064	7.1
1920.....	430,001	9,432	2.1

The first two columns of this table are taken from the Statistics prepared by the U. S. Bureau of Immigration.

XII JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS AND NON-IMMIGRANTS

Year	Total Number Admitted	Immigrants	Non-Immigrants	Percentage of Non-Immigrants Against Total Number Admitted
1909....	1,593	255	1,338	84.0
1910....	1,552	116	1,436	92.5
1911....	4,282	736	3,546	83.0
1912....	5,358	894	4,464	83.3
1913....	6,771	1,371	5,400	79.7
1914....	8,462	1,762	6,700	79.1
1915....	9,029	2,214	6,815	75.5
1916....	9,100	2,958	6,142	67.5
1917....	9,159	2,838	6,321	69.0
1918....	11,143	2,604	8,539	76.6

From *Japan Review*, Vol. IV, p. 76.

XII JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES

Year	Admitted	Departed	Balance
1909....	1,593	5,004	— 3,411
1910....	1,552	5,024	— 3,472
1911....	4,282	5,869	— 1,587
1912....	5,358	5,437	— 79
1913....	6,771	5,647	+ 1,124
1914....	8,462	6,300	+ 2,162
1915....	9,029	5,967	+ 3,062
1916....	9,100	6,922	+ 2,178
1917....	9,159	6,581	+ 2,578
1918....	11,143	7,691	+ 3,452
1919....	11,404	8,328	+ 3,076
1920....	12,868	11,662	+ 1,206

From the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration.

**XIV COMPARATIVE TABLES SHOWING THE
DENSITY OF POPULATION OF THE
COUNTRIES REPRESENTED AT THE
ARMS CONFERENCE AT WASHING-
TON ***

TABLE A
Density of Population

Country	Area in 10,000 Sq. Miles	Population in Millions	Density of Pop. per Sq. Mile
Japan.....	13	55	429
England.....	12	45	377
United States..	357	105	29
France.....	21	39	186
Italy.....	11	36	332
China.....	135	389	288

TABLE B
Density of Population
(Including Possessions, Colonies, and Mandates)

Country	Area in 10,000 Sq. Miles	Population in Millions	Density of Pop. per Sq. Mile
Japan.....	24	77	319
England.....	1058	489	46
United States.....	373	118	31
France.....	388	85	21
Italy.....	11	36	332
China.....	477	416	87
Countries where Japan may emigrate her surplus population	Mongolia..	282	1
	Manchuria..	36	50
	E. Siberia..	119	3
	W. Siberia..	407	2

* Figures are taken from the *Japanese Times* of Nov. 12, 1921.







